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ABSTRACT

The conference reported in this document sought to do the following: (1) focus attention on the problem of underachieving minority students, and issue a call for action to improve their educational achievement; (2) promote dialogue on promising practices aimed at solving the problem; (3) foster collaboration on solutions among practitioners, policy makers, and researchers; (4) identify critical research and development (R&D) needs; and (5) identify significant testing and evaluation issues for future investigation. The 27 papers presented are grouped into 8 sections addressing the following topics: (1) our national dilemma (how to provide disadvantaged students with a meaningful education); (2) developing effective instructional programs; (3) reducing the number of dropouts; (4) preparing students for success at the postsecondary level; (5) helping limited English proficient students succeed; (6) improving teacher effectiveness; (7) the role of testing and evaluation; and (8) collaborative arrangements. The major findings of the conference are presented as a series of recommendations in answer to the following questions: (1) what are the most important keys to improving education for underachieving minority students; (2) what are the most significant impediments to implementing these key ideas; (3) what federal, state, and local actions (other than direct funding) would most help; and (4) how could R&D in educational testing and evaluation best contribute to solutions? An appendix provides the conference program and a list of presenters and attendees. (BJV)

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Center for Research on Evaluation Standards, and Student Testing

DELIVERABLE - November 1987

Project: Monitoring the Impact of
Testing and Evaluation Innovations

REPORT ON LOCAL ACTIVITIES

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MAKING SCHOOLS WORK FOR UNDERACHIEVING MINORITY STUDENTS: NEXT STEPS FOR RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE

Center for Research on Evaluation
Standards, and Student Testing

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REPORT ON LOCAL ACTIVITIES

Josie G. Bain
Joan L. Herman

OERI - G - 86 - 90003

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DEDICATION

CSE/CRESST dedicates this document to the memory of RONALD EDMONDS, a wise and insightful educator, a champion for excellence in education, a Visiting Scholar at the Center in 1982 and the chief architect for the Principles of the Effective Schools Program. Ronald Edmonds shared generously his inspired and researched evidence of our capability to make schools work for all children.

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW

For quite some time, serious concern has been expressed about the quality of education that is provided for our youngsters. Fueling public interest, A Nation at Risk, the Carnegie Report, and other published reports recorded strong disenchantment with public education and gave legislators, educators, and parents a challenge that could not be ignored. As a result, reforms have been launched and much has been done in subsequent years to address the challenge. However, while some progress has been noted, the performance of our minority students remains a disturbing problem.

During the planning process for CRESST, the staff articulated its commitment to assuring educational quality for all students. It was that belief, confirmed by the Conference, that the efforts of any one group, such as educational researchers, was clearly insufficient to the scope and importance of the problem. We believed that we needed to be a part of a larger effort, drawing from teachers, parents, community organizations, and government, from people who had recent and direct insight on the problem. We wanted a gathering where information would be shared, positive courses of actions could be evaluated, and collaborative efforts could be created. Consequently, the idea of bringing such people together envolved.

We broached this idea when we participated in the annual meeting of the Council of the Great City Schools in New York, where the magnitude of the problem was reinforced. At the meeting members concurred with the need for action and raised such questions as: What are the intergenerational issues? How much investment is society willing to make in the illiterate? What kind of jobs will be available for the underachiever, and in what quantity will they be available? What role ought research and evaluation play in solving the dilemma? And finally, what really works? Where can we find processes and programs that actually and consistently address the problems of the underachiever?

Members of the Council agreed that there were many promising educational practices in the field, but some questioned whether such practices had been validated sufficiently and whether they truly could be replicated in other localities. The Council, through its president Dr. Richard Green and its executive director, Dr. Samuel Husk, expressed great interest in the problem and offered all possible assistance to efforts that might be made. This concern added impetus to CRESST's desire to offer suggestions for intervention through planned research and evaluation.

Pursuing the problem further, we discovered that many individuals, community groups, and organizations were approaching the problem of underachieving minority students with a sense of urgency. Most felt something could and should be done. Two such groups were the National Urban League and The National Council of La Raza.

The Urban League has launched a five-year national educational initiative designed to improve the educational performance of Black students. John Jacob, President of the National Urban League, in the formal announcement on September 30, 1986, described the program by saying, "Our educational initiative will mobilize the community to define key issues, maximize the use of existing resources, build coalitions and support for change, and implement concrete action plans. Our initiative is not an exercise in confrontation, but a program that mobilizes citizens and institutions in a collaborative effort to make the public schools work better for our children. We have no illusions that a quick fix can solve the crisis."

Similarly, demonstrating its serious commitment, the National Council of La Raza has established a multi-year effort, the Innovative Education Project, that is designed to develop, demonstrate, evaluate, and replicate five innovative community-based approaches to reduce the dropout rate and improve the quality of education available to Hispanics. La Raza's President and Chief Executive Officer Raul Yzaguirre, says about the project, "There is an overwhelming need for community-based educational programs which can supplement school offerings, work with youths who have dropped out or been pushed out of school systems, and help parents and teachers increase their ability to help Hispanic children learn."

Building on these shared interests and as a first step in an intervention process, CRESST initiated a national conference in collaboration with the Council of the Great City Schools, The National Urban League, and the National Council of La Raza with principal financial support from the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement. Held at the UCLA Faculty Center on June 25-26, 1987, MAKING SCHOOLS WORK FOR UNDERACHIEVING MINORITY STUDENTS: NEXT STEPS FOR RESEARCH, POLICY and PRACTICE was planned to further a number of critical goals:

> To focus national attention on the problem of underachieving minority students and call for action to improve their educational achievement;
>
> To share and promote dialogue on promising practices that can help solve the current educational crisis for these students;
>
> To foster active collaboration on creative solutions among practitioner, policymaker, and researcher constituencies;
>
> To identify critical R&D needs and collaborative arrangements as important next steps toward problem solution; and
>
> To collaborate on CRESST's research agenda by specifically identifying significant testing and evaluation issues for the subsequent inquiry.

The conference brought together a distinguished group of approximately 200 educators, policymakers, and researchers to share the best of what we know about how to improve educational opportunities for minority students and to deliberate on their implications for research, policy and practice. Those who served as keynoters and presenters were leading figures in the field of education. They represented a broad range of viewpoints, experience and academic training, and each participant had keen interest in the topic and felt that change was possible.

The agenda featured a provocative mix of keynote addresses, special topic panels, small working discussion groups, and opportunities for more informal interaction and conversation.

The first morning session, "Our National Dilemma, "commenced with consideration of the current status of education for underachieving minority students and the special problems which underlie it. Distinguished researchers presented their views of the roots of this national dilemma and of the critical and sustained action required for its resolution with reactions from two school superintendents.

The afternoon, "Bridges To Change: More Effective Practices," featured smaller group panels which presented brief overviews of promising approaches for addressing specific problem areas. Each conference participant chose two from among five available problem-focused panels. Composed of both researchers and practitioners, the panels dealt with Creating Effective Instructional Programs for All Students; Reducing the Drop-Out Rate; Preparing Students for Success at the Post-Secondary Level; Assuring Effective Programs for Language Minority Students; and Improving Teacher Quality.

Issues of evaluation and testing, subthemes during the first day, became primary foci on the morning of the second day. After keynote addresses on The Role of Testing and Evaluation in Effective Schools, conference attendees then chose from among a number of smaller group panels focused on: Creating Better Evaluation Strategies to Monitor and Improve School Effectiveness and Developing Alternative Strategies for Better Diagnosing and Meeting Individual Student Learning Needs.

The activities of the final afternoon were designed to encourage conference participants to actively synthesize what they had learned from the conference and to identify next steps, including consideration of potential collaborations among conference attendees and the constituencies they represented. Following brief keynote presentations on a variety of models of collaboration, participants were assigned to small working groups to discuss the implications of the two-day proceedings for future school improvement efforts; to identify implications for local, state, and federal action; and to articulate implications for national R&D, particularly in the areas of testing and evaluation.

The sections which follow parallel this same structure. The chapters which comprise them give a sense of the substance of the conference presentations. What is very difficult to convey is a sense of the enthusiasm, urgency, and commitment of the assembled group. (A copy of the program and a list of attendees are included in the appendix.)

OUR NATIONAL DILEMMA

James Comer
Yale University

Henry Levine
Stanford University

Samuel Betances
Northeastern Illinois University

OUR NATIONAL DILEMMA

Building Quality Relationships

James Comer
Yale University

It is a very great pleasure for me to be here. I am delighted that you are having this discussion on Making Schools Work for Underachieving Minorities and I am delighted that you asked me to participate. There is probably no more critical an issue facing our country from the standpoint of individual students, their families, their community and society, and yet, as we all know, we are not giving the issue the kind of attention that it deserves.

I would like to share my understanding of the problem this morning in several ways. First, I will say just a little bit about my own background, because it raises some of the questions that got me interested in the problems of education in the first place, and mention some of the insights I have gained from this personal background. Then I will talk about the nature of the problem as I understand it, and the impact of science and technology on community, family, development, and the development of children over the past 70 years. I will stress its impact on education in particular. I will talk about why minorities have been most adversely affected by the technological and social changes that have been taking place. Then, I will briefly talk about our intervention and research project in New Haven, Connecticut, not as a model, but as the source of my recent insights concerning the education of minority students.

Just a little bit about my own background. I am from a low-income family, and a disproportionate number of the underachieving young people that we are concerned about today are from low-income families, although too many middle income minority students are also underachieving, for reasons I will discuss. Both of my parents were from the rural South: my mother from rural Mississippi, my father from rural Alabama. My mother worked as a domestic in the North and had absolutely no education. My father worked in a steel mill and had only a sixth grade education. Nevertheless, together the two of them sent their five children to college where we earned thirteen college degrees among us.

As I describe in a book about my family that will be coming out very soon, my three best friends that I went to elementary school with, who were from the same kind of background as I was, who were just as able on the playground, in the church and a variety of other places, did not do well in school, and had a downhill course in life. One died early of alcoholism, one spent a good part of his life in jail, the other has been in and out of mental institutions all of his life. The only difference between my friends' and our own family's experience was that my parents, through their connections with the church and other affiliations, developed attitudes, values and interactive skills that allowed them to interact with our schools and school people in a way that allowed them to support us, and taught us interactive skills and ways of managing ourselves in schools that allowed us to succeed. I was interested in the fact that those former classmates did not succeed although they had the ability, and that interest led me to my career in this field. The question I have always had is, "Why can't the schools provide children with what they do not receive at home and make it possible for them to achieve at the level of their ability?" That was in the back of my mind when I began my work in schools.

Let us turn now to the impact of science and technology on our society and the changes over the years that I feel have led to the academic underachievement in this country until the 1950's when education became the ticket of admission to living-wage jobs. You needed that job to be able to provide for yourself, your family, and carry out all your adult responsibilities. Prior to that point, you could drop out of school and still meet all your responsibilities. After the 1950's, a disproportionate number of people who left school were on a downhill course.

Now, if this is true, why can't we just show young people the light and convince them to stay in school? Unfortunately, it takes more than understanding that there are undesirable outcomes of not achieving well in school to keep students from failing. It really requires adequate support for the student's development, from infancy onward, and it requires adequate schools--schools functioning in such a way that they can promote the success of young people. That is the problem.

In the society of yesterday, it was not a great problem because we were a nation of small towns and rural areas. Even our cities were basically collections of small towns. Work and play were local and often communal. There was a low level of mobility and communications were limited. People had social interactions in their churches, clubs and a variety of other activities within their localities. There was an on-going interaction among authority figures to develop a great deal of trust in one another. They at least knew what to expect from one another. There was a sense of place. Even though your place might not be a desirable place in the society, you had a sense of place. Life was very predictable. There was a sense of community as a result of past conditions. The school was a natural part of the community and there was an automatic transfer of authority from home to school as a result of the interactions that authority figures had on a regular basis.

Those authority figures were really the source of all truth for young people. Everything they knew about the world came to them from those important authority figures, who could censure the truth and censure you for not behaving in certain ways. They spoke with a common tongue about what was right, wrong, good or bad, and if you asked one what was right, wrong, good or bad, you might as well have asked them all, because they were all saying the same thing.

One example of this was when I would go the A & P store with my parents every Friday, and there was never a time that I did not bump in to someone from my school--the custodian, a teacher, the principal, the clerk. Someone from the school was there, and there was always an exchange of information between them and my parents about how I was doing in school, and what was expected, and what would happen if I did not do well. I always knew that there was only so much acting up that was possible in school, given the fact that I was going to meet them next Friday in the grocery store.

One day, when I was eleven years old and about to get into trouble, someone next door to where I was about to get into trouble was a "sister" from our church, and before I even got home, my father knew what I was up to. Now, I was fortunate. I had one of those progressive fathers who didn't spank me, but who pointed out to me that if I wanted to be respected by the people in my church and my neighborhood, there were certain things that I could do and certain things that I could not do. Since I wanted to be respected, I did not do those things, at least not where anybody could see me. My point is that the home, the school, the neighborhood, everybody involved was aiding my social development and that of all the children in my community.

After World War II, science and technology were applied to every aspect of life. As a result, we became a nation of metropolitan areas with high mobility. You could, and often did work long distances from where you lived, and you would not interact on a regular basis with parents, teachers, administrators, all of the traditional authority figures in society. In addition, there was massive visual communication as a result of television.

Society became more complex as a result of these conditions, and there was less trust because people did not get to know each other on a regular basis. There was less of a sense of place, less of a sense of community. There was increasing distrust and alienation developing as a result of overall social conditions. Youngsters received more information than ever before in the history of the world from television. Television brought attitudes, values and ways from around the world right to the children without any censorship or explanation by their parents or community. Very often those attitudes, values and ways were in conflict with what parents were trying to teach their children.

I became personally aware of this situation when my daughter was about four years of age. My wife and I were both working, and we had a housekeeper who liked to watch the "soaps." I was packing to go on a trip when my daughter came to me and very solemnly shook her finger at me and said, "Now don't you have an affair!" She was four. I was sixteen before I knew what an "affair" was.

Given these conditions I have briefly outlined, the complexity of the world, the amount and diversity of information that young people receive, it is understandable that they need the highest level of development than ever before needed to gain the necessary competence to function well as adults. They need more sustained and skilled adult help for development than has ever before been required. They need institutions that support their development over a longer period of time than ever before. When in fact, they have less support today than in the past. There are many more families in which both parents are working than in previous years. There is more divorce today. There is more social stress. There are more parents who, because of past social conditions, are without the kinds of skills that would allow them to help their children function well.

Schools have not responded adequately to the challenge. Schools remain hierarchical and authoritarian, inadequately flexible. They can not respond to the problems right in front of them. The training of teachers and administrators is such that many really do not understand children and do not understand the behaviors that they are confronted with.

The transfer of authority from home to school is no longer automatic. It is conditional, it depends on the quality of relationships between home and school. A teacher pointed this out to me recently when she said that a six-year-old in her class, after she explained the expectations of the school, raised his hand and said, "Teacher, my momma said I don't hafta do anything you say." Very different from in the past when there was an automatic transfer of authority from home to school.

Thus, the problem is that students need the highest level of development to achieve well in school and to achieve well in life, and yet we increasingly have families that are unable to support such development and schools that have not been responsive. In fact, there has been very little understanding of the relationship between good personal development and academic learning. We still think of academic learning in a very mechanical fashion. It is something that is merely put in (the child), the learning machine (brain) acts on it, and the child is then "educated." We often view behavior solely as a willful act, and thus troublesome behavior, as a willful bad act, deserves to be punished. In light of these misconceptions, I would like to review very quickly the whole issue of human development, how it relates to academic learning, and why it is the problem that I think is central and must be addressed if we are to help underachieving minority of children.

Our society, like all societies, has certain tasks that we ask everybody to be able to accomplish by the time they are adults. We ask people to get specific training so that they can hold the kinds of jobs that are available today so that they can live successfully in families and neighborhoods, and so that they can participate as responsible citizens of society. But children are not born capable of carrying out any of these things. They are born totally dependent, with only the biological potentials that must be developed over time. They are born with aggressive energy that can be destructive to themselves and everybody around them unless it is very carefully channeled into the energy of life survival.

They are born with the capacity for relationships and it is that capacity for relationships that we must act on to make it possible for children to develop and learn. The caretaker--parents, in particular, teachers and others must interact with and provide for the basic needs of the child in a way that the child establishes an attachment, an emotional attachment and bonding that allows the parents then to lead the child across developmental pathways that lead to mature development. There are many pathways, but several are critical, crucial for academic learning. They are: 1) social-interactive, 2) psycho-emotional, 3) moral, 4) speech and language, and 5) intellectual, cognitive or academic. I include academic at the end of that list because the academic is really a function of overall good development. When children are developing well, they have the highest potential for learning in school.

Let me give just a couple of examples of what I mean by adult-child interactions that help children grow. A two-year-old who wants to play with the ball another child is playing with does not know that he or she cannot just take that ball. They will do it, and if the other child resists, they will often simply hit him in the mouth and take the ball anyway. Now, the parent who is present has to say, "Michael, you cannot take Johnny's ball. You'll have to go do something else `till Johnny is through, or maybe you can work it out and you can play together." The parent spells out the options and because of the close parent-child relationship, the child wants to please the parent and acts appropriately. In the process, the child begins to develop along all those developmental pathways--the social rules of the game, controlling the impulse to hit, and handling any feelings about that situation. What is right and what is wrong is learned in that situation. Speech and language is involved and thinking, learning, cognitive development is involved.

Parents who are functioning well and understand the importance of reading to their children and can read will often read to their children at the end of the day, a good time, an emotionally good time when the child has the parent to himself or herself in the big, busy world. Reading, and that moment, becomes emotionally charged and a positive emotional experience. Many children's stories are designed to deal with fears and anxieties that children have, and so they want to hear them again and again. After a few times hearing the story, the child has associated the page, the picture with the words he hears and begins to "read" from memory and his parents get all excited. "Look Mom, Johnny can read!" And when grandma calls on weekends, "Guess what Grandma? Johnny can read!" Johnny hears all of these important, powerful adults excited about the fact that he can read, so he wants to read more and more. He wants to master everything in his or her environment to please those powerful adults until it becomes important to please himself on his own. And that is the beginning of the motivation for learning to read and to becoming an achiever.

In addition, that child probably notices that his parent starts reading at the top of a page and reads from top down, reads from left to right, and explains the story in certain ways. All of those are pre-reading skills, and that child goes to school already reading or at least prepared to learn to read. This impresses his teacher. Teachers like bright kids who seem curious and who seem to have skills, and seem to be able to handle themselves and behave well. These characteristics make it easier for teachers to relate well to such a child, and for the child to make an attachment to them. A similar attachment or bonding that took place with parents takes place with school staff, and that allows the school staff to motivate and support the child for development in school. It allows the child to imitate, internalize, and identify with the attitudes, values, the ways of school people, and things that are going on in school.

The child who is able to have such experiences develops a sense of competence and confidence, wins the approval of the people around him or her, develops personal esteem and is motivated to continue to grow and develop and learn. The opposite occurs for children who have not had preschool experiences that prepare them to go to school and present themselves in a similar kind of way. Those children very often have experiences in groups and families that lead to a downhill course.

Now, the question is: Who are these families? The answer is: A disproportionate number of them are Blacks, Hispanics and Native Americans. It is because the experiences of those groups have been very different from other groups. I will discuss these experiences very briefly, not to accuse or to excuse, or to blame, or to promote guilt, but to think in terms of understanding what has happened and how we can develop effective interventions. I will talk only about the Black experience because that is the one I know most about, but there are similarities among all three groups.

I will start with the Black experience in West Africa. Most Black Americans are from West Africa, where there was a tightknit political, economical and social system that was integrated into the kinship system of those areas. Out of the relationships and the social organizations, families developed a sense of direction and values, were motivated to perform in certain ways and were able to rely on certain qualities of relationships that were prescribed and expected. These were largely communal societies, with relationships, sharing and a sense of belonging being very important.

Slavery resulted in the dislocation of people, the disruption of kinship systems and all of the guiding, supporting institutions, discontinuity of culture and loss of social cohesion. This is very different from the American immigrant's experience, and it is important to talk about the immigrant experience briefly because consciously and unconsciously, we use that as a model of the way all groups in our society adjusted and the way all families functioned.

Immigrants came to America with their religion largely intact. They came with their language intact. Many came in groups from the same hometown, and relocated to the same town operating as homogeneous ethnic enclaves until they were able to make it into the mainstream of the society. Educational and social opportunities were available almost instantly, and all of these conditions promoted family stability. Those families were able to undergo a kind of three-generational upward movement and development.

The prevailing economic conditions allowed people to work, provide for their families, and provide family stability. Conditions allowed those parents then to help their children grow and to learn in school. The opportunities in the mainstream of society almost immediately made it possible for them to want to gain an education and want to gain skills and contacts in order to make it into the mainstream of the society. The men could vote almost immediately. They had political, economic and social power. The educational-social opportunity made it possible for tremendous progress within the three generations. The first generation (the immigrants who arrived before 1900) could be uneducated and unskilled, but adequately provide for their families, which created the stability that allowed you to achieve moderate education and skill during the next generation, 1900 to 1945. Stability in the job market, with moderate education during that period allowed those families to provide their children with experiences that made it possible for them to function well during that next (third) period, between 1945 and 1980, when you needed a high level of education and skill to be successful in the job market. During this post-industrial era, when even with a high level of education and skill many adults are in some difficulty in the job market, finding a job became highly competitive.

The Black experience in America made this type of three-generational movement impossible. Slavery was a system of forced dependency. Food, clothing, shelter and all of the basic needs were provided by an outside force, the master. There was no future. No matter how hard you worked, the achievement was for the master, not for your family, not for your group. There was no sense of control. Powerlessness, profound powerlessness is a major social-psychological strike. Even one's sexual experience and major social relationships could be determined and supervised by the master. These profound conditions affected the functioning of the group and the family.

There were behavioral consequences as well, such as acting up and acting out behavior on the part of many, violence and aggression often against other slaves. There was passive-aggressive behavior, doing as little as you can, working as slowly as you can without being punished, leaving a plow out in the field to rust. There was apathy, withdrawal and depression within and among the slaves. All of these situations created troublesome attitudes, and in some families, the attitudes and behaviours were transmitted from generation to generation.

After the Civil War, conditions were not much better. Through subterfuge and terror, Blacks were denied the vote, and as a result of that, political, economical and social power was not possible. The Black family and community could not develop mainstream knowledge, skills or contacts. Only limited education was available. Even as recent as the 1940's, four to eight times as much money was spent on the education of a White child as on the education of a Black child in the eight states that had 80 percent of the Black population. This was a significant problem because the period of 1900 to the 1940's was when most of America was preparing for the last stage of the industrial revolution, a time when you needed a high level of education and skill to be successful.

The same problem existed in higher education. As late as the mid 1960's, two prestigious White women's colleges had an endowment that was about one-half the endowment of Harvard. And that one-half endowment of Harvard was more than that of all the 100-plus Black colleges put together. Thus, there was massive undereducation of the Black community well into the 1960's.

In spite of these negative social, economic and political conditions, the church culture allowed many Black families to function relatively well and provided them with organization, a sense of direction, values, and motivation and allowed them to achieve adult tasks regardless of their low income.

The Black church culture also led to the creation of an educated nucleus of Blacks which eventually led to the Civil Rights Movement. But by that time we were already into the 1960's, the middle of the third stage of the industrial era, and much of the Black community had by then been closed out of opportunities to obtain living-wage jobs. One needed mainstream knowledge, skills and contacts to overcome the racial discrimination and problems that existed.

Blacks had been excluded from high quality educational institutions and from the mainstream of economic and political contacts. Yet, many Black families were still functioning well through the 1950's, at which point 80 percent of all Black families were two-parent families, and Black communities were largely safe places. Since the 1950's we have begun to see many families that once functioned well begin to function less well.

What we see now are Black families going in opposite directions, most of those who were able to organize and be successful prior to the 1950's functioning better than ever before, those who were not able to do so having more difficulty than ever before. In addition, because of identity problems, because of racial barriers and social network pressures, many middle income Black children are not functioning as well as they should, not achieving at a high enough level. In too many cases, achievement has been associated with being White, and non-achievement has been associated with being loyal to one's Black identity.

These were some of the most serious problems that we were confronted with when we started our intervention/research program in New Haven. To briefly describe it, in 1968, our Child Study Center team, which I directed with a social worker and special education teacher, began working with two schools which were 99 percent

Black and almost all the children were poor. They were 32nd and 33rd out of 33 elementary schools in reading, language arts and mathematics achievement, nineteen and eighteen months behind in those areas by the fourth grade. They had the worst attendance in the city, they had the worst behaviour in the city. By 1984, the children in these two schools were tied for third and tied for fourth respectively in the city in language arts and mathematics achievement, a year above grade level in one school, seven months above in the other, with no change in the socioeconomic makeup. Six of the previous seven years they were first or second in attendance, and we have not had a serious behaviour problem in over a decade.

In our method of intervention, we thought about the conditions that had been a part of the Black community, and how we had to acknowledge what had changed in the society. Then we had to develop an intervention that dealt with dependency, that dealt with the feeling that there was no future and no sense of control. We also focused on the underdevelopment of the children who came from families that were under severe pressure. We realized that we had to empower all who were involved in the school, which is what I meant by school power, as described by my book with that title. We had to involve students in actively learning, not passive learning, in order to allow for self actualization. We had to create something that would allow them to see that they had a future, and that they were in school to prepare for a positive future.

We therefore developed a major focus on the organizational management of the school that would give us flexibility to respond to the problems as we found them, and to develop a sense of trust to cope with the major problem of alienation, anger, distrust, hopelessness and despair. We developed a governance and management group that was representative of all the adults in the school. They worked together on the social program of the school to create a good climate of relationships that would allow teaching and learning to take place, and on the academic program of the school.

We developed a way to utilize mental health knowledge and skills and positive ways of relating to and supporting the development of the children without saying to people, "You don't know how to work with children." The new approach was carried out by a "mental health team" that focused not only on treating individual children, but also on helping the system function and create. The fundamental idea was to give teachers and other school staff members the kinds of skills that would allow them to understand children and to support their development. These ways of working decreased the behavior problems, allowed the teachers to feel better about themselves, caused them to have more energy, more time to focus on the teaching and learning tasks.

We also realized that we had to create a sense of future and a sense of opportunity, and so we created a program we called the Social Skills Curriculum for Inner City Children. We asked the parents in what areas they felt the children would need skills to be successful as adults, focusing towards adulthood even in elementary school. We came up with four areas: politics and government, business and economics, health and nutrition, and spiritual-leisure time activities. We then developed units that integrated teaching of basic skills, arts, and social skills. Our assumption was that many of the children were from families that were disconnected from the mainstream of society and that many of the children had not received the kinds of experiences that would allow them to impress their teachers and make the ties that were necessary to be motivated for tomorrow.

We developed this approach first at the elementary school level and got dramatic improvement in the achievement. We are now also doing it at the middle school level and in the high school. In the high school we are focusing very much on tying the young people into the real world. We are also bringing the real world--adults in many occupations and representing many mainstream agencies--into the school. The program seeks to help the real world understand what the students will need, and to help the students develop the skills and ties that have been generally denied the Black community. With knowledge of the real world, children can then be motivated to develop the skills that are necessary to be successful throughout their lives.

My final comment, about research and evaluation, is really a challenge to all of you. I think that the field of education had been very much influenced by psychology, with the focus on the individual. We have also been very much influenced by the results of experimental research. This type of research has dominated the field so much that when we were trying to get support from the National Institute of Mental Health, they wanted to know about our independent variables, our dependent variables, and what was it specifically that we did that made the difference. I could not convey to them that it was a structure operating on a daily basis in the school that influenced the climate of relationships that made it possible for people to plan and that you could not put your finger on exactly what made the difference.

To understand our program, we really need an ecological prospective, because what we really did was to change the ecology of the school. We changed the quality of the relationships, the nature of the relationships, the way people interacted with each other.

So the challenge is to find a way to evaluate our kind of approach and to understand what goes on in systems that allows them to change and allows the children to develop in a way in which they can achieve academically and develop the skills and the motivation to become responsible citizens, responsible family members, responsible and competent childrearers. Unless we do that we really have not achieved the mission of the school, because the mission of the school is not simply to teach basic academic skills, it is not simply to provide employers with future competent workers, but it is to prepare children to be responsible citizens of a democratic society.

OUR NATIONAL DILEMMA

The Educationally Disadvantaged Are Still Among Us

Henry Levin
Stanford University

Most of the recent reports on reforming American education ignore the problem of the educationally disadvantaged. Pupils defined as educationally disadvantaged lack the home and community resources to fully benefit from recent educational reforms as well as from conventional schooling practices. Because of poverty, cultural differences, or linguistic differences, they tend to have low academic achievement and experience high secondary school drop-out rates. Such students are especially concentrated among minority groups, immigrants, non-English-speaking families and economically disadvantaged populations.

The educationally disadvantaged begin their schooling with lower standardized achievement than their non-disadvantaged peers. Typically, they rank at about the 15th percentile in achievement performance throughout their schooling careers. Unfortunately, that standard of performance means that such students fall farther and farther behind in achievement and are about three years behind grade level by the end of secondary school. As a consequence of both their poor achievement and other factors, educationally disadvantaged students have exceedingly high dropout rates, approaching 50 percent according to recent data.

The War on Poverty, launched some two decades ago, made the educationally disadvantaged a central target of educational policy. In stark contrast, recent policy statements such as that of the National Commission on Educational Excellence's Nation at Risk or the current report by U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett, First Lessons: A Report on Elementary Education in America virtually neglect the disadvantaged as an educational priority.

Unfortunately, few congratulations are in order. The vanishing of the disadvantaged from policy reports and the media is a reflection of political expediency or wishful thinking rather than an educational triumph. The battle to overcome educational disadvantage did not end in victory, but in neglect and disarray. At present the educationally disadvantaged are estimated to constitute about 30 percent of elementary and secondary enrollments, a far higher proportion than in the sixties. And, their numbers are increasing more rapidly than the non-disadvantaged. In states such as California and Texas they will account for the majority of enrollments during the next decade. Moreover, gains in educational achievement for the disadvantaged have been so marginal, that their educational situation is as serious today as it was in the sixties.

Why are the disadvantaged increasing so rapidly? First, the groups that constitute such populations are relatively young and have far higher birthrates than non-disadvantaged populations. Second, the U.S. is experiencing a wave of documented immigration that is unprecedented since the turn of the century, and added to this are huge numbers of undocumented immigrants. Most of today's immigrants to the U.S. derive from rural and impoverished circumstances where little schooling was provided. Third, the proportion of children in poverty families--many of them female-headed--is higher today than it was a decade ago. High birth rates of existing disadvantaged groups, a rising number of children from poverty families, and immigration are all fueling the rapid upsurge in disadvantaged students. This phenomenon has overwhelmed the schools of the largest cities in America where a majority of their enrollments are disadvantaged.

Social Consequences of Inaction

In the absence of substantial educational interventions, the rapidly increasing population of educationally disadvantaged students will ultimately emerge as a large and growing population of disadvantaged adults. The potential consequences of ignoring the needs of these students will afflict not only the disadvantaged, but the larger society as well. These consequences include: (1) the emergence of a dual society with a large and poorly educated underclass, (2) massive disruption in higher education, (3) reduced economic competitiveness of the nation as well as states and industries most heavily impacted by these populations, and (4) higher costs for public services that are a response to poverty.

As the disadvantaged population increases without appropriate educational interventions to improve substantially its situation, this group is likely to form the underclass of a dual society. Composed of racial and ethnic minorities and persons from economically disadvantaged origins, its members will face high unemployment rates, low earnings, and menial occupations. At the same time the political power of the disadvantaged will increase as its numbers and potential votes rise. The specter of a dual society suggests great political conflict and potential social upheaval. Economic and educational inequality in conjunction with equal political rights are the ingredients for future polarization and intense political, social, and economic conflict and instability.

The implications for higher education are also severe. Larger and larger numbers of educationally disadvantaged will mean that public institutions of higher education will have to become more restrictive in their admissions criteria or more devoted to remedial academic work. Either direction is fraught with problems. Substantial remedial activities will require additional university resources, and student programs will take longer to complete their degrees. All of this means that costs to universities and students will spiral. The increase in remedial functions will alter the character of public higher education with a tendency to water down the overall curriculum and reduce standards as pressures increase to approve the application of such courses to degree programs.

Alternatively, the universities may seek to restrict admissions through greater reliance on standardized test scores and more academic course requirements so that fewer persons from disadvantaged populations can participate in higher education. Even now a disproportionately small share of minority and educationally disadvantaged students are eligible to participate in public higher education because of their high rates of dropping out and their poor academic records in secondary school. But these disproportions will be exacerbated by creating an elite system for admissions, a result that flies in the face of the democratic mission conferred upon public systems of higher education supported by tax revenues collected from the entire population. At the same time that higher education would become more exclusive, those who were increasingly excluded would be expanding their political power at both the state and federal levels. Clearly, such a policy will lead to political and social turmoil, both on and off the campuses.

A further consequence of the present treatment of the educationally disadvantaged will be a serious deterioration in the quality of the labor force. As long as the disadvantaged were just a small minority of the population, they could be absorbed into seasonal and low-skill jobs or relegated to unemployment without direct consequences for the overall economy. But, as their numbers grow and they continue to experience low achievement and high dropout rates, a larger and larger portion of the available labor force will be unprepared for available jobs. Here we refer not only to managerial, professional, and technical jobs, but to the huge and burgeoning numbers of lower-level service jobs that are characterizing the economy. Clerical workers, cashiers, and salespeople need basic skills in oral and written communications, computations, and reasoning, skills that are not guaranteed to the educationally disadvantaged. A U.S. government study in 1976 found that while 13 percent of all 17 year olds were classified as functionally illiterate, the percentages of illiterates among Hispanics and Blacks were 56 and 44 percent respectively.

The U.S. is already facing great difficulties in maintaining a competitive economic stance relative to other industrialized and industrializing nations. As the disadvantaged become an increasing and even a dominant share of the labor force in some states and regions, their inadequate educational preparation will undermine the competitive position of the industries and states in which they work and our national economic status. Employers will suffer lagging productivity, higher training costs, and competitive disadvantages that will result in lost sales and profits. State and federal government will suffer a declining tax base and loss of tax revenues, thus curtailing funds for improving education and other services.

Finally, the economic losses will come at a time of rising demands for public services. More and more citizens will rely upon public assistance to meet their needs, and increasing numbers of undereducated teens and adults will rely upon illegal activities to fill idle time and obtain the income that is not obtainable through legal ones. The inability to find regular employment that is remunerative enough to overcome poverty will require greater public interventions to support the rising poverty population and to counter drugs, prostitution, theft, and other activities associated with poverty. This development will not only make the U.S. a less desirable place to live, but it will also increase the costs of police services and criminal justice as well as public assistance. Pressures will be placed on the middle class to pay higher taxes at the same time that incomes are threatened by a flagging economy, creating an additional source of political conflict as besieged taxpayers resist tax increases.

The New Reforms and the Disadvantaged

Although the rhetoric of the recent state reforms stresses the improvement of the education of all children, including the disadvantaged, this emphasis is not supported by the substance of the reforms. The educationally disadvantaged are systematically neglected. The reforms stress raising standards at the secondary level, without providing additional resources or new strategies to assist the disadvantaged in meeting these higher standards. Any strategy for improving the educational plight of the disadvantaged must begin at the elementary level and must be dedicated to preparing children for doing high quality work in secondary school. Simply raising standards at the secondary level without making it possible for the disadvantaged to meet the new standards, is more likely to increase their dropping out.

Two of the most typical recent state reforms are the setting of competency standards for a diploma and raising course requirements for graduation. Paradoxically, both of these may contribute to increasing dropouts of disadvantaged students who already have difficulty in meeting the old standards. Disadvantaged students enter secondary school with achievement levels that are two years or more below those of their non-disadvantaged counterparts. Even present standards are difficult to meet with this handicap. Unless this gap can be closed prior to entering secondary school, the higher standards will serve to further discourage the disadvantaged rather than improve their performance.

In this respect, the current wave of reforms may be meritorious for many non-disadvantaged students, while actually serving as obstacles for improving the education of the disadvantaged. Reforms for the disadvantaged must address their needs directly, rather than assuming that a rise in general standards will automatically solve the needs of all students.

What Needs to Be Done

Twenty years of experience has shown that there does exist instructional interventions that promise at least modest improvement in the achievement of the disadvantaged. For example, peer tutoring, cooperative learning, mastery learning, computer-assisted instruction, pre-school programs, and new curricula have all shown some success in this regard. The major challenge is that these successes have been exceedingly modest relative to the achievement gap that exists. While each of these might systematically close some of the achievement gap, for example, raising achievement from the 15th to the 20th percentile, gains of this magnitude do not provide a substantial improvement in the educational or occupational fortunes of the disadvantaged.

Progress towards further improving the education of the disadvantaged is limited by the very way in which we think about and address the problem. We know that disadvantaged children begin school with a learning gap in those areas valued by schools and mainstream economic and social institutions. But, remedial interventions are not adequate unless they ultimately contribute to a substantial narrowing or closing of that gap by bringing the disadvantaged up to the same range of academic performance as their non-disadvantaged peers.

The existing model of intervention assumes that disadvantaged students will not be able to maintain a normal instructional pace, that the mere provision of remedial services will close the learning gap, and that no time-table is required. Thus, the remedial model consists essentially of placing such youngsters in a less demanding instructional setting without a time limit. Although this may appear rational and even compassionate, we must consider its consequences.

First, this process reduces learning expectations on the part of both the child and the educators who are assigned to teach them functions and stigmatizes both groups with a level of inferiority. Such a stigma contributes to weak social support for the activity, low social status for the participants, and negative self-images for the persons engaged in remediation. The combination of low social status and low expectations is tantamount to treating such students and their educators as educational discards who are marginal to the agenda of mainstream education. These are the unhealthiest of all possible conditions under which to expect significant educational progress. In contrast, an effective approach focus on creating learning activities which are characterized by high expectations and status for the participants.

Second, the usual treatment of the educationally disadvantaged is not designed to bring students up to grade level. There exists no time-tables for doing so, and there are rarely any incentives or even provisions for students to move from remedial instruction back to the mainstream. In fact, since students in compensatory or remedial situations are expected to progress at a slower than "normal" pace, a self-fulfilling prophecy is realized as they fall farther and farther behind their non-disadvantaged counterparts. The result is that once a disadvantaged student is relegated to remedial or compensatory interventions, that student will be expected to learn at a slower rate, and the achievement gap between advantaged and disadvantaged students will grow. While the gap may be measured in months of achievement in first grade, it will have grown to years of difference by secondary school. A successful program must set a deadline for closing the achievement gap so that ultimately educationally disadvantaged children will be able to benefit from mainstream instruction.

Third, by deliberately slowing the pace of instruction to a crawl, a heavy emphasis is placed on endless repetition of material through drill-and-practice. The result is that the school experience to the disadvantaged lacks intrinsic vitality, and the slow rate of progress just reinforces low expectations. Interesting applications and assignments are omitted in favor of drudgery, on the premise that these fundamentals must be learned before anything more challenging can proceed. Both language skills and mathematics are virtually substance-less, emphasizing mechanics over content. Such a joyless experience further negates the child's educational experience and diminishes the possibility that the child will view the school as a positive environment in which progress can be made. An effective curriculum for the disadvantaged child must not only be faster paced, but must actively engage the interests of such children so that they will be motivated to learn.

In addition to these shortcomings, most compensatory educational programs do not involve parents sufficiently or draw adequately upon available community resources. Furthermore, the professional staff at the school level are often omitted from participating in the important educational decisions that they must implement. Such an omission means that teachers are expected to dedicate themselves to the implementation of programs which do not necessarily reflect their professional judgments, a condition which is not likely to spur great enthusiasm. The implementation of successful educational programs to address the needs of the educationally disadvantaged will require the involvement of parents and the extensive participation of teachers in formulating the interventions that will be provided. Given the severity of these impediments to the effective schooling of the educationally disadvantaged, it is little wonder that even the most successful programs have produced modest results. These outcomes persist despite the good intentions and efforts of the many educators who work with the disadvantaged. It is the basic approach and its underlying assumptions that are at fault.

A New Approach

What we have learned from the experience of the last twenty years is that an effective approach to educating the disadvantaged must be characterized by high expectations, deadlines by which such children will be performing at grade level, stimulating instructional programs, planning by the educational staff who will offer the program, and the use of all available resources including the parents of the students. At its heart, the educational intervention must be viewed as transitional. That is, the intervention will be designed to close the achievement gap so that such students can benefit from regular instruction after some period of intervention.

In order to meet these goals, I have been working with a group of colleagues at Stanford University's School of Education to design a program of Accelerated Schools for the Disadvantaged. The Accelerated School is a transitional elementary school that is designed to bring disadvantaged students up to grade level by the completion of the sixth grade. The goal of the school is to enable disadvantaged students to take advantage of mainstream secondary school instruction by effectively closing the achievement gap in elementary school. The approach is also designed to be a dropout prevention program by eliminating the most important single cause of dropping out, serious achievement deficits.

The school is based upon an accelerated curriculum that is designed to bring all children up to grade level. The entire organization of the school will focus on this goal rather than limiting interventions for the disadvantaged to "pull out" sessions in a school where the dominant agenda addresses other goals. This approach requires an assessment system that evaluates the performance of each child at school entry and sets a trajectory for meeting the overall school goal for that child. Periodic evaluations on wide-spectrum, standardized achievement tests as well as tailored assessments created by school staff for each strand of the curriculum will enable the school to see if the child is on the anticipated trajectory.

Major curriculum aspects include a heavily language-based approach, even in mathematics. Language use will be emphasized across the curriculum, with an early introduction to writing and reading for meaning. An emphasis will also be placed upon applications of new tools to everyday problems and events in order to stress the usefulness of what is being taught and learned.

Parents will be deeply involved in two ways. First, they will be asked to sign along with school representatives a written agreement which clarifies the obligations of parents, school staff, and students. The agreement will be explained to parents and translated, if necessary. Second, the parents will be given opportunities to interact with the school program and to be given training for providing active assistance to their children. Parents will be asked to set high educational expectations for their children and to support their success as well as to encourage reading.

Other features include the implementation of an extended-day program in which rest periods, physical activities, the arts, and a time period for independent assignments or homework will be provided. During this period, college students and senior citizen volunteers will work with individual students to provide learning assistance. Since many of the children are "latch-key" children, the extension of the school day is likely to be attractive to parents. Instructional strategies will also include peer tutoring and cooperative learning. Both have been shown to be especially effective with disadvantaged students.

These broad features of the accelerated school are designed to make it a total institution for the disadvantaged, rather than just grafting on compensatory or remedial classes to elementary schools with a conventional agenda. However, the actual choice of curriculum and instructional strategies will be decided by the instructional staff of the school. That is, the decision-making approach is a school-based one in which those who will be providing the instruction will make the decisions. Each school will have a site team composed of instructional staff and a representative of the central office of the district. The Stanford group will assist in the planning process by providing information, technical assistance, and help in initiating a school-based governance model. But, each school will set out a program that is consonant with the strengths of the district and the local staff. In this way, the reform will be a "bottom-up" approach in which the professionals who are providing the instruction will make the decisions which they will implement and evaluate.

During the 1986-87 school year, the Stanford group is developing a full information clearing-house on the Accelerated School, training capabilities for staff, and an assessment model. At the same time we are working with site teams at schools in San Francisco and Redwood City, California to plan programs for Accelerated Schools that will open in the Autumn of 1987. We believe that this approach has a high probability of success because of its emphasis on the instrumental goal of bringing students up to grade level by the completion of sixth grade; its stress on acceleration of learning and high expectations; its reliance on a professional model of school governance which is attractive to educators; its capacity to benefit from instructional strategies that have shown good results for the disadvantaged within the limits of existing models of compensatory education; and its ability to draw upon all of the resources available to the community including parents and senior citizens.

In large measure we believe that the approach can be implemented within existing resource constraints including federal and state categorical grants. The only aspect that will have obvious, additional cost implications is the extension of the school day. Finally, this approach does not require new legislation at either the state or federal level, but can be implemented with local initiatives by educators and parents.

By solving much of the problem of the educationally disadvantaged at the elementary level, we hope to reduce the risk of dropping out and to save much of the cost of secondary school dropout programs. We believe that improved levels of school achievement and self-concept will also go far to reduce problems of violence, drugs, and teen pregnancies of secondary school students. Finally, it must be stressed emphatically that unless we take a bold stand to intervene now in behalf of the disadvantaged, we will soon be reaping the distasteful harvest of our neglect.

Footnotes

A fuller review of the issues that are covered here and the evidence supporting them is found in Henry M. Levin, Educational Reform for Disadvantaged Student: An Emerging Crisis (Washington, D.C.: The National Education Association, 1986). Critical and comprehensive views of what we have learned from 20 years of research on the education of the disadvantaged are found in a group of papers prepared for the Conference on Effects of Alternative Designs in Compensatory Education, sponsored by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement of the U.S. Department of Education (June 17-18, 1986). See particularly: Penelope Peterson, "Selecting Student and Services for Compensatory Education: Lessons from Aptitude-Treatment Interaction Research;" Thomas A. Romberg, "Mathematics for Compensatory School Programs;" and Jere Brophy, "Research Linking Teacher Behavior to Student Achievement: Potential Implications for Instruction of Chapter I Students."

OUR NATIONAL DILEMMA

Understanding the Dimensions of our Problem

Samuel Betances
Northeastern Illinois University

I'm very pleased to be here, and there is absolutely no reason why people who have been involved in research should know who I am. So I have to introduce myself from another vantage point because my name won't do it. Neither will my accent. My name is Samuel, it's like "damn well", it's an Hispanic version of Samuel. I was born in Harlem in New York City, but I was raised in "Puerrto Rrrrico", where I learned to roll my Rs. My last name is Betances. As long as we're going to be educated about diversity and minorities, we might as well learn to pronounce these names. The first name is "Sam-well," try that. (Audience) "Sam-well."

All right. The last name is "Bay-tan-says". Put it together. (Audience) "Sam-well Bay-tan-says".

See how easy it is; you are all now bilingual. Who said we needed Proposition 63, or anything else of the kind, here in California?

What I do best, and what I have been doin' in "Miss'sippi", Alabama, Louisiana, as well as in Georgia and other places like Kansas and Washington State is being a motivating, entertaining, insightful speaker about urban issues in education.

I work very well with teachers and administrators. Through the years I've worked with San Francisco and San Jose school systems as a consultant on issues that have to do with curriculum and bilingual and multicultural education. Lately, I have introduced humor as a force in helping us, as educators, really to set a tone and create a climate for the exchange of ideas about educational reform. We can laugh our way into accepting new ideas about serious issues in our profession.

You know, it's interesting that the people who are abusive to minorities have always used humor to mock people. Those of us who claim to be the friends of minorities are not as good at using humor as an ally. And I'd like to make a distinction between humor that amuses and humor that abuses, let's enjoy ourselves while we take care of business at hand...you will find me a very sharp, entertaining, insightful speaker.

I have to talk fast, and you have to listen fast. Our time is very short here. Diversity, or how to make our society safer for differences, is my theme. There are some lessons about this issue from my past. When I attended schools in the city of New York I was about 11 years old. Having just arrived from Puerto Rico, my only language was Spanish. My teachers thought they knew exactly what they needed to do in order to prepare me for the future. So, the first thing they told me when I came from Puerto Rico was: "Learn English". So I said, "Si, si". Then, in the same vein, they came up with, "Forget Spanish". And interestingly enough, before I learned English I forgot Spanish, and soon, I was illiterate in two languages.

One of the things that we have to do in this business is to figure out how a good teacher, who means well, in a system that must prepare children for the world of work and for the world--as someone else put it before me--becoming good citizens in a democratic society is how to distinguish when teachers are basically wrong, and when they tend to be right. Because when they told me to learn English, they were right on target because anybody who says you can get along without English in the United States of America is a fool! English has replaced German as a language of science and French as the language of diplomacy. It is the *lingua franca*; it is a most useful instrument in the world as the foreign language which makes it possible for people to have access to the world of technology. But more importantly, it's the language of American citizens that binds us together. And therefore, when she said "Speak English" she was right.

But you know something? When they said "Forget Spanish", they were wrong, because you cannot argue in the name of education that it's better to know *less* than more. So in that sense, my problem with educators is that teachers and school systems who are very good about giving minorities advice about what students need to do in order to make it, is that often they're only half right.

We have to figure out how we can get teachers to be right a lot more often. And because of that, you need the insight of some of us who are kind of freelance troublemakers in the circuit of the exchange of ideas.

My accent is a "Spanglish" one. And it comes out of an interesting social reality. How I managed to learn to speak middle-class English is very revealing, since I come from what can best be described as a troubled background. My mother had five children, about a fourth grade education and she hails from a rural background in Puerto Rico. She migrated, with my father, to New York City, and later with my stepfather to Chicago. My father is an alcoholic. He became an automobile mechanic, but did not do well economically. My mother is a very white, European-looking Puerto Rican woman. My father is a very Afro, Black-looking Puerto Rican man. And although they weren't supposed to...they did!

And they had some of the most beautiful children you have ever seen.

We can talk about Black being beautiful now; but we lived at a time when the concept of Black being beautiful was not there. Women were not pushing back the night. Handicapped people did not have a parking space. In a sense, the gifted were not recognized as a unique possible track. Gay people were not, at least collectively, deciding that somehow the society had to be at least more humane about how they would be treated as people. Senior citizens were not organized as Grey Panthers. Even though I look at myself now, and think of myself as an attractive human being, I remember a time when I actually thought that I was ugly; if you can believe that.

I came out of a poor background and my language reflected growing up on public welfare...Let me dramatize what I mean to say about how poor we were by telling you a true story from my past.

I used to live with my folks on the West Side of Chicago on Harrison Street and Independence Boulevard, near the Eisenhower Expressway. Not long after we moved into our little apartment, someone forced the door and broke into our home. Because I spoke the best English in our family, I was told by my mom to call the police and report the crime. And so I called. After all, I had watched television and remembered "Dragnet", you know what I mean. I knew that they would come out and investigate and solve the problem.

I called the police and said, "I want to report a robbery". And the desk sergeant said, on the other line, "No you don't". I said, "What do I have to report?" He said, "A break-in." "Okay", I said, "I want to report a break-in." I said, "Could you send somebody to investigate?" He said, "No, we won't". I said, "Why not?" He asked, "What did the thieves take?" I started to think about what they took. And it dawned on me that while they had gone all through our things, and had made a big mess, that they hadn't taken anything!

If you think being a victim is bad when they take the stuff that you really treasure, you are a real victim when they break into your house and don't take anything. We were poor!

I lived in poverty; my vocabulary skills were poor; I was illiterate in two languages; I never earned a grade higher than a "D" in English. I did poorly in Math and I was a high school dropout. Need I tell you about my poor self-esteem? But then I met Mary Yamazaki, a Seventh-Day Adventist woman, and she got me turned around, and put me on the right track.

Mary Yamazaki is a Japanese-American woman. I went to work for her at Hinsdale Hospital, just outside of Chicago. She became like a surrogate parent in the arena of education. She was a tiny lady with a long bony finger. She told me that I needed to finish my education. She helped me go to a boarding prep school, Broadview Academy in Lafox, Illinois. It was there that I learned middle-class English by memorizing the speeches of the preacher Peter Marshall, or the sermons of Billy Graham, or the political speeches of Jack Kennedy. And by doing that, I empowered myself with middle-class language skills. I learned, interestingly enough, often in spite of the school system, not because of it.

I shall never forget attending school at Broadview. Living in a dormitory meant taking showers with other boys! Six at a time, was not unusual. Looking at other young men naked was very revealing. I noticed young adolescents whose bodies did not have one scar. I remember looking at this dude, six foot two, gifted with a beautiful mop of blonde hair. (In those days I always wanted to have "good hair"). This young man was to me the epitome of what the society must project as a handsome man in the terms of the mainstream WASP environment. I looked at that individual, and there was not a scar on his body. As I kept looking he got nervous, and I said, "Don't worry, I'm just looking".

I had nine scars. I thought scars were part of growing up. It was through those kids in that academy that I learned middle-class ways. In that school I learned the art of public speaking. I always somehow knew how to read. I used to read biographies so as to not have to interact with people, whom I was convinced would not like me.

So, how did this Puerto Rican kid, Samuel Betances, from a broken home, on welfare, from a racially mixed background, with all of these scars, with not many resources, whose relatives own not one thing that others would want to steal --- eventually wind up at Harvard University? What happened? How was I able to earn my Masters and Doctorate there?

Basically I was intelligent, but I was incompetent when Mary Yamazaki intervened in my life. Because of her religious faith which made her believe that God could do all things, she said to me, "God has great work for you to do. But, you've got to prepare yourself". This person not only introduced me to the idea or the option of education, she also helped me to manage my money matters to save for my entrance fee at the academy. I met Mary Yamazaki when I went to work for her at Hinsdale, as an orderly in her Central Service Department. I was earning about one dollar an hour. I used to commute from the West side of Chicago to the suburb of Hinsdale. She knew that I could not save for my education, paying a big chunk of my income on train fare every day. So Mary Yamazaki fought with the housing administration at the hospital to let me live on the hospital grounds. Racist policies did not encourage Black and Latino lower level workers to find housing in the elite suburban hospital. But, Mary Yamazaki fought for me and won. In fact, she got the hospital to allow me to share a room with six Korean students. They spoke very little English, and I didn't speak any Korean, but we slept in the same room -- we snored in the same language, I guess. So that's how it began for me, the road to success in the educational arena. I had someone in my corner fighting for me in order to remove obstacles that the system puts in the way; while she fought with me, so that I could be the best that I could be by taking advantage of the new opportunities.

Thinking about my Korean roommates brings the thought to me about new immigrants and success in education. While many of the newcomers are poor and from the "Third World", others are not.

Some are not poor; even if they happened to be from the third world. The Filipinos, the Hindus, the Koreans, and some Vietnamese...many of them come through a process known as select immigration. Educators give a wrong meaning to their achievement in education. Teachers, begging to take credit for what these students are able to achieve in schools, their achievements often having to do with what these students bring from their native culture. Yet, teachers will often look down on U.S. minority students and scold them, telling them "Why can't you be like these new kids?" The thing is that "these new kids" are the way they are precisely because they did not go through our system.

I took my children to do a little homework at Northeastern Illinois University, and I said, "Who do you think comes to Northeastern?" And my daughter looks at me and says, "Koreans". And they are less than one percent of the population of the university, but they seemed to be the majority of the people who used the library at night and on weekends.

Interestingly enough, now that Asians are doing very well, MIT and Stanford want to put a cap and a limit on how many Asians they will accept. So while the Asians go about doing what they are supposed to be doing to achieve in education, they now may be facing what Jews experienced for a long time. The core society will put some obstacle in their way to limit their success rate in the society. Stephen Steinberg in his book, The Ethnic Myth, has documented how testing and the process of conducting entrance interviews were put into practice at Harvard when Jews were getting into that elite university in greater numbers than the core society felt prudent. Testing as a process was introduced to limit the entry of Jews into Harvard. Some new criteria will no doubt be introduced soon to limit Asian progress. It seems that the core society wants the best and the brightest to succeed in education as long as these talented students are not the racial minority in our time; as they were not to be from a religious minority group many years ago.

Let's stop comparing minority young people in the U.S. with people who come through a select immigration process. Let's ask the question: Are there people like Samuel Betances, who are high school dropouts in places like the West Side of Chicago, who are Harvard material? How do we find them and develop them to reach their full potential?

For me the opportunity came as a result of a national tragedy. Through Mary Yamazaki's effort I had graduated from college. I didn't have the best grades; but I got through the B.A. When Martin Luther King was assassinated, Harvard was embarrassed that they did not have many Blacks and Hispanics. In order to honor Dr. King, Harvard recruited minority men and women. Recruiters, like Beatrice Miller, were to find people working in the cities for positive social change and to have them apply to enter Harvard to do graduate work. When I got to Harvard I found that the biggest problem in going to a place like Harvard was getting in.

Once we got in, sure we had some responsibility but we could meet the responsibility. We were able to create networks of interest, not of color, in order to achieve certain goals. Now, I did not graduate cum laude or summa cum laude, but I graduated. There were times when we had to read a book a day, a paperback book, just to get ready for certain classes. But, we did it!

You know what I'm sayin--we've got to stop this nonsense that says minority people lack the intelligence to succeed. What we see is that doors are not open enough. And when the doors open in places like UCLA, and other places like this one, you have people in staff and faculty positions who do not know how to work with people like myself.

What we need to do is to provide incentives for minorities. Meaning, we can say to them, "Hey, we know that you have come here with some deficits..." I don't even know the word to use to describe the things they lack. We could say educationally, whatever,...but you know, I tell my students, if you read two extra books, your letter grade is going to go higher. This is an incentive. We can create incentives. It takes a little extra work, but if we're in this business about equity and excellence, then we've got to do some of that. Also, don't forget that one of the things that minority people experience in the U.S. is rejection. Don't talk about academic and testing issues impacting minority young people and not talk about rejection. Many minority young people have experienced and are experiencing rejection. They have internalized a negative vision of themselves. They think there's something wrong with their eyes. Or that they're ugly, or that they have been cursed by God or something. Somewhere along the line, when we talk about making schools work for underachieving minorities, they've got to empower those children to reject rejection. Not to reject themselves. And that means that you need to hire people in those universities that not only look like those minorities, but who have a track record for a conscious experience of battling rejection. Then you can really have role models. I don't mean finding some black scholar who does not relate to the black experience. I'm talking about finding some black scholar that relates to the black experience and who may not be as published and polished academically, but who may, in fact, be published and polished in the ability to empower whites and blacks in those institutions to learn how to be extensions of those things that univeralize the human spirit.

At one time I thought there was something wrong with our hair. We need folks to talk to students about the way they thought about themselves before capturing a positive vision of their real worth. We need faculty members and counselors to teach by illustrating, and confessing how wrong they were not to value themselves. Some of us wanted to cook our hair. Remember the days. I used to cut my hair real short and get a skull cap and put some Posner products on my very short hair, and sleep real stiff. The next day I would remove my cap, and my pressed hair resembled the "good hair" that I so desperately wanted. We were like shadows of what we could not be. How often I hid in the shadows of bus stop signs so I wouldn't get darker from the sun. There's nothing wrong with our hair. It's the meaning that society puts on hair. It's just like we take a piece of cloth and we call it a handkerchief, and it collects waste, and we blow our nose into it. Or we can take a piece of cloth and it can be a flag, and we salute it. The meaning is not in the cloth. The meaning is in the culture. And unfortunately, we live in a culture that says that some groups are handkerchiefs, and some groups are flags, and what we've got to teach those young people by simple illustrations like the one I am using is, that in God's sight, we are all flags, and if we are good enough for God, then we are good enough for America!

We must confront the national dilemma that says to students be thankful and proud that you are an American. But, what do we tell an American Indian to be thankful for on the eve of the Thanksgiving holiday season? The fact is that some people see the society as hostile and others see it as a host society. When we teach those who experience life as hostile to be thankful from the perspective of those who experience it as host, we've got a problem.

In Puerto Rico, the Americans came. They said, "We're going to get rid of the Spaniards". And they did. So we said, "Hooray for the Americans." And then the Americans stayed. On the eve of World War I, they said that we are now American citizens. So we became American citizens.

So we come to this society, and like the American Indians -- the American Indians were not made citizens to give them access to power, they were made citizens so that they wouldn't sign treaties. So citizenship was made to conquer people, not to liberate people.

For black Americans to become citizens after the Civil War meant the end of slavery. Citizenship became a plus for blacks. To be a teacher from a Greek, Polish, Ukranian, Lithuanian, Armenian background is to view becoming a citizen always as a blessing. It's hard to imagine if you look at the issue of citizenship as a stride toward freedom and/or the end of persecution and oppression, why some students would not value citizenship; why some students walk around with what appears to be a chauvinistic cultural chip on their shoulder.

The society portrays Mexican-Americans in the media as though they came to this country last night, and illegally. Mexican-Americans or Chicanos didn't come to this country as much as this country, through conquest, took over what used to be Mexico. So if you tell a Mexican-American "go back where you came from", and if they took you up on it, they would go back to Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado........

Don't forget, in your research agenda to focus on the role of teachers and educators who come to the challenge of teaching minorities from dominant/host society enclaves. For these instructors face the challenge of educating our people to accomplish two things: to (a) empower them with skills of going into the world of work, and (b) at the same time, with the skills to reject rejection. So that the minority students do not put a negative meaning on their hair, on their Negroid or dark skin features, because that's not the problem. The problem has to do with meaning making. Black folks came up with a beautiful idea when they declared that "black is beautiful", which did not mean that white was ugly. When black people reached the conclusion that indeed black was beautiful they decided to let their hair grow. They knew that the problem did not have to do with their hair; but, with the meaning that was put in their hair. Blacks made a political statement with their hair. The "Afro" was born. I'm not talking about the "natural", I'm talking about the "Afro". I remember Barbara Sizemore with an "Afro", she looked bad.

And, if you sat behind someone with an "Afro" you couldn't see. And you better not say anything either, man. In those days blacks had their African dashiki's from Hong Kong, and everything...you understand?

Japan. I've been there four times in the last five years, and I'm going back next year and I'm taking my twin boys. I don't know if my daughter wants to go; she prefers to visit England because Wham comes from there, I don't know what that means. I think Wham is a rock group.

Japan. When I watch people look to Japan, it scares me. Because I've been to Japan, and let me tell you, Japan is full of Japanese people. Now how in the world do you find solutions for a country that's multi-cultural from a country that's homogeneous? That worries me. It worries me because their assumptions and their cultural base are just different. You realize there are more black people living in the United States than there are people in the country of Canada. We've got more than 20 million Americans of Italian descent. We've got in Chicago more than 1 million Americans of Polish descent. I mean the United States is now the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking country in the world.

When you put it all together with the Scandinavian, the French and the Danes and the Norwegians, and you put together those Germans and Protestants and Catholics, and you put those Greeks...Listen, when you put it all together, this is a country of multi-cultural diversity where too many groups are viewed as handkerchiefs and some of them are blouses and some of them are viewed as towels, and some of them...When you take a look at all of that diversity, American education needs -- we need to educate our people on how to be consistently affirming the value of all of us together. And this is good for whites, good for blacks, and good for all of those of us who are in between.

Lastly, two points. And you're going to be patient with me in terms of the time factor because I'm good......

The homework issue is first. In the American Educational Weekly a series of reports on Japan indicated how the Japanese woman parent goes and gets a text book so as to take lessons on how to tutor her child, because getting into college in Japan is so competitive.

Homework. Israel. I went to Israel a couple years ago. It was a very fascinating experience. I saw a lot of black-looking Jews there. In terms of homework for the newly arrived Jews from Morocco or Ethiopia, the students from Ben Gurion University of the Nagev earned their scholarships by living in the housing compounds of newcomers. The students from mainstream Israeli society help the newly arrived Jews because educational leaders in Israel know that the parents of Moroccan and Ethiopian Jews cannot help their own children. In Japan it is the mother who is the homework connection. In Israel, the students of Ben Gurion University are the tutors. In the U.S., at least for the middle class, it is we the parents who help.

My daughter is sixteen, my three children attend a public school system in the city of Chicago. My daughter came to me and she said, "Daddy, I need some work with my homework, and we're doing something on Shakespeare." I found out that she wanted to find out something on Shakespeare. I went to work with Dr. Dowd at New Haven, Connecticut, and while I was there I picked up some books on Shakespeare. We did a little bit of research; I helped her to do the three by five cards, how to do quotes, how to do the whole thing. We did a fantastic job and it brought me closer to my daughter.

We worked very hard on the task of her paper. When she took it to school the teacher liked it. The paper had the five sources required and the encyclopedia. The teacher looked at her and said, "This is fantastic." Then she called one of Cristina's classmates to the front of the class. His name is Pedro, whose parent had moved to Chicago from Mexico. She said, "Pedro, why did you copy from the encyclopedia? Why didn't you do what Cristina did?"

And I thought about that and I discussed it with my daughter, and guess what we found out? Pedro had plagiarized because the only resource that he had available to himself was, in fact, the encyclopedia.

Cristina Betances had the resources of her father, who for fifteen years had been a full professor in the teacher's college there in Chicago called Northeastern Illinois University.

Yes, Pedro was passing himself off as a student, when in reality he was taking credit for work he had not done. In a sense Pedro is a fraud. But his teacher was also a fraud. She was taking credit for work she had not done. She was saying, "Cristina did what I told her". Cristina did not do what she told her. Cristina did what the resources made available to her at home enabled her to do.

In many instances, the problems facing American urban education can be understood in this type of illustration. Kids are not competing with other kids; but social class families are competing with social class families. Love in each family can be constant and abundant; but, if the class resources are very uneven the outcome in the area of achievement will also be uneven.

Here in California there is much made about the business initiatives to adopt-a-school program. What we ought to do is to ask businesses to do something very simple. Hire some of the kids that are doing very well in urban schools to become the tutors of those students who are not doing very well. Let's establish communal homework centers in our school districts. From Monday through Thursday from 3:30 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. in selected places throughout our cities, there will be places where young people can get help with their homework. A particular business can adopt a school by paying the wages of the tutors. The tutors can wear the logos of the sponsoring company on sweat shirts provided by the company. Instead of flipping hamburgers, young people can flip ideas and provide help to those who need it. The students who tutor will become stronger in the process. Those who are earning "C's" can earn "A's". The achievement rate of all involved goes up. There are a lot of parents out there who love their children, but who cannot help them with their homework.

Teachers are always dumping on parents, saying they don't care. If you care and you don't know the new math and you don't know the science, even if you show up at school, even if you create the climate, even if you turn the television off, even if you get them to bed on time, those kids are still in need of technical assistance with the know-how in terms of being competitive with the curriculum of the school system.

And so what I'm saying to you is, we need to take some of those young people, hire them to teach other young people, give those kids jobs, give them responsibility. If parents know that there is a center that they can go to and send their kids where the kids are going to be safe, the parents will send those kids to get the help they need. So that they don't have to plagiarize, or go out to the streets and write their names with spray paint on the walls instead of with degrees like the rest of us.

So. Here is my suggestion. Teachers are always saying parents don't care. But that's because they bring that set of biases that we heard about on welfare and all of that other stuff. I'm saying to you that there are parents who love their children who need work, and I'm saying we need to ask businesses to do more than to simply give a tour to the class of their business, or to provide a computer to a school. And that's what they're doing to sponsor a school. Let's see if we can get the teachers' unions, get the NEA, and some of these -- the AFT -- to go along and build with principals and parents,' groups and businesses' communal homework centers so that those kids can get help in their neighborhoods in the evenings, Monday through Thursday. And if the kids are too young and you can't hire them, let them give them for so many hours of tutoring a personal computer. Or some other kind of incentive. But, don't build a volunteer tutoring program. They don't work.

My point is this. My mother loved me, but she could not help me with my homework. I love my daughter, I could help her with part of her homework, but in her math and in her science, I cannot help her. Let's figure out how we can take those kids and build the kind of base that the homework centers can give us.

Let it be said that in Japan the homework connection is the mother; in Israel it is the college student; and in middle-class America it is the parents. In the cities, the homework connections are the communal homework centers.

And really lastly, the dropout issue. When they say that Hispanics don't care about education and point to our high dropout rate, don't believe that we don't value education. Take another look at the meaning that's being put on the statistics. It's a big lie that we don't value education. Our dropout rate is 55 percent. Now that's not acceptable. But, damn it, for the children of white immigrants, the dropout rate was 94 percent. The difference is that they had stolen the continent from the Indians -- and that's better than welfare, that's a lot of land -- the difference was that when they came with a strong back and willingness to work they could work. The difference was that you could build a Bank of America that was really the bank of Italy - when those Sicilians came and established a, what is that place? Fisherman's Wharf was established by immigrants who did not speak English. The Italians went fishing and cooked fish over there...The point is that when those people came with a strong back and willingness to work, they could get into the job market so that while the schools rejected them or did not accept them, the economy did. So they had high dropout rate of 94 percent, but a zero dropout problem.

Today when my people come to this society, with the same intelligence in the farming area, we face agribusiness. And consequently, it's not that we lack intelligence or interest, it's that we lack opportunity. When the schools reject us, so does the economy. Because when those people came, you know, you could talk to the cows in Swedish and they give you milk. You could talk to the corn in German and it would grow. But we don't face the corn or the cows, we face the computer.

It's not that we don't value education, but that there is myth that says white people made it through education. Not true. If you check back in your families, your parents had less education than you did. Your grandparents had less education than they did. And the further you go back, the less formal schooling. My friends, what that means is that because they were able to get into the economy without formal education, you and I were able to get, and our children are going to get, more. What am I saying? The dropout problem and the dropout rate is not that we lack values, but that the economy has changed. We do our chief work in Japan, in Korea, even in Puerto Rico. Did you know that 75 percent of the bras that are sold in the U.S. are manufactured in Puerto Rico? Puerto Rico's a lot closer to your heart than you realize.

So. Let's think a lot about these issues, and, hey! Why don't all of us say, part of the agenda must be: How do we take racism and sexism and intolerance, and pow! Right in the kisser, as we make this country safer and stronger and freer than when we found her. Right on, America!

PROMISING PRACTICES

Developing Effective Instructional Programs

Barbara Sizemore
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PROMISING PRACTICES

The Organization - A Viable Instrument for Progress

Barbara Sizemore
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I want to talk to you about higher achieving, predominately Black elementary schools.

When I first went to Pittsburgh in 1977, I interviewed Black parents, and I asked them which Black elementary schools in Pittsburgh had the highest achievement. The parents would look at me like I was crazy for asking such a dumb question, and they would say, "There's no such thing as a high-achieving Black school, but if you want to know the best school . . ." They would name the school, and I would visit it.

I also tried to find out if there were any people in the Bedford housing project who had their children in private schools, and I found out that some did. I interviewed these parents and went to the private schools, and I found that Black children in a couple of these private schools were actually achieving less than children at the Robert L. Van Elementary School, which was the public school for the housing project.

I went back to the first families that I had interviewed, the families with children in public schools, and I told them what I had found. They didn't believe me, they wouldn't believe the facts. I thought this was a very serious problem. Why should schools that are really accomplishing something keep trying, if people don't believe that they are doing a good job?

I got some money from the National Institute of Education to study three high-achieving and three low-achieving Black schools. What I had in mind was an ethnographic study, I wanted to describe and compare the routines in the schools. But the superintendent at that time said, "Oh no, you can't do that, because all of my people are working hard in my schools." And I said, "Yes, but in some of the schools where the people are working hard the kids are learning, and in other schools where they are working hard, the kids aren't learning. So I wonder what your people are working hard at." He replied, "You can't do this, the morale of my school system would degenerate if you did a report like that." I asked to look just at the high-achieving schools, but he didn't even want to do that.

I asked him some more questions about this and that, and discovered something about the high-achieving Black elementary schools in Pittsburgh. The school officials were really embarrassed about the high performance of these schools because the performance raised questions about the lower achieving schools.

When the parents found out the truth about Robert L. Van Elementary, they got angry and said, "What's the matter with kids at the Wilder school?" This was one of the low-achieving elementary schools. It was a legitimate concern, and I suggested that they take their questions to the superintendent. They did, and this created tension in the school system. And tension is healthy because it usually brings about change. Change was what was necessary to narrow the achievement gap between African-American students and White students in the Pittsburgh elementary schools.

The Van Elementary School is ninty-nine and nine-tenths Black. The children in this school come from families that are eighty percent single-parent, female-headed families. The children live in public housing and ninty percent qualify for free and reduced lunch. This is a school that is Black; this is a school that is poor.

In 1976, I discovered that the seventh graders at Van Elementary--at that time it had seven grades--were the second highest achieving seventh graders in the Pittsburgh public schools. They were the second highest achieving group of seventh graders and no one knew it. Not even the teachers in the school knew it. That's how well this secret was kept.

Over a ten year period, the Robert L. Van School had been persistently in the top left quadrant, the quadrant that indicates the high achievers. Van Elementary had always been up there, surrounded by White schools, just like the fly in the buttermilk. The school district officials just erased it, they took the fly out and dropped it.

Since Van Elementary had been up with the high-achieving schools, I thought perhaps there were other schools up there, too. In 1979-80, I looked at the twenty-one elementary schools that were identified as seventy-five percent Black, or more. I used a very modest criteria for this study. I considered any school to be a high achiever if it had fifty-one percent of the Black students achieving on the national norm for standarized reading and mathematics tests. I found five schools that fell within my criteria. I was given money to study three, so I chose the three highest achieving. They were Madison, Beltshoover, and Van Elementary Schools.

In 1980, Beltshoover was the highest achieving Black elementary school in the city of Pittsburgh. Seventy-one percent of the children scored at or above the norm on the NAT in reading and seventy-two percent scored at or above the norm in mathematics. When I published my study, the Black school board members really got fired up, and they went to the superintendent and told him some changes had to be made. However, there were only two Black members on the Board of Education. One of them was my husband. As fate would have it, the other Black school board member didn't really know he was Black; we couldn't count on his support. We appealed to him in many ways. We spent a lot of time trying to persuade him to see our point, but he just would not do it. We then resolved that we were going to have to do something else, so we found someone to run against him. He was defeated, and that gave us two votes.

We had another seat that represented the African-American majority in the community, but the man was apathetic, he had just given up. We had to convince the people he represented to act on their own behalf and put someone else in that seat. That was a really hard job, trying to convert that apathetic Afro-American community to one that believed politics could make a difference in their lives. We kept meeting and meeting and talking and talking, and six people finally said that they would run for election. We told them, "No, six people can't run. If six people run, the White folks will get the seat back because you'll be dividing up the votes."

These six said, "We decided to run and now you tell us we can't run. What is wrong with you all, don't you know what you're doing?" We locked up those six people in a room and told them that only one could come out. They sat in there and argued and argued. Three of them came out and said, "We're quiting." The other three came out and said, "We're running." We said, "Nope, go back in there. You can't come out until you decide which one of you is going to run." One more drops out, he had to go home to dinner. The other two were eyeball to eyeball and neither would give. Both were going to run; they were adamant.

We had to find out which of the two was the weakest candidate. We followed one around for twenty-four hours and then confronted him with "Gary Hart evidence." He got out, and that gave us one candidate. Needless to say, we won the seat and that gave us three votes. That was the most Black votes we could get.

My husband said we had to get a White candidate who would vote with us. Fortunately for us, there was a section of the city that was represented by a man who was easy to defeat. This seat was in a racist middle class neighborhood--the people were what I call closet racists. They were racists at home but not at work. We had to try and run our candidate's campaign so that the Black people could help her, but so the White people wouldn't know it. Those of us who sounded White on the telephone made calls and the rest of us licked stamps and things like that. We got her elected. That gave us four votes, which meant that we only had to lobby for one more vote.

We had learned in previous political campaigns that it is just as hard for White people to stick together as it is for Black people. We had to wait until one of the White board members needed my husband's vote. Finally that happened. One of the White board members approached my husband and said "Jake, I need your help." He said, "You've got it, if you fire the superintendent," and she replied, "You have my vote." That's how we got the new superintendent, Dr. Richard Wallace.

Since Dr. Wallace has been there, our school system has been a different school system. We have only one school that is below the fiftieth percentile for standarized testing in reading, and only two schools that are below the fiftieth percentile in math.

What is exciting to me is the number of schools that are now closing the achievement gap. Last year at the Madison School, eighty-one percent of the children achieved at or above the norm in reading and seventy-nine at or above the norm in mathematics. At Van, eighty-four percent exceeded the White norm in reading. At Van, eighty-four percent reached or exceeded the White norm in mathematics. We had five other integrated schools where the African-Americans exceeded the White norm. In all, we had five integrated schools and two all-Black schools that exceeded the White norm last year. Exceeding the White norm in our system is our priority goal.

Our new superintendent has also created a school improvement program. The director of the program, Dr. Louis A. Vincent, was the principal of the Beltshoover School. He has taken twelve schools and elevated their achievement. When I put my daughter in the Miller Elementary kindergarten magnet program, that school was at the bottom of seventy-one schools in terms of achievement. Miller is an all-Black school, one hundred percent Black and one hundred percent poor. Nearly all the kids live in public housing, and ninty percent of them come from single-parent, female-headed families. In April of 1986, seventy-three percent of the children scored at or above the norm in reading and seventy-five percent scored at or above the norm in mathematics.

This is what is happening in the Pittsburgh public schools now. It is a result of political action. You can't do anything in the Pittsburgh school system without five votes, I don't care who the superintendent is. If you don't have five votes on the school board, nothing is going to happen. Action really has to start with the school board if you want policy or priority changes in your school system.

My research and the School Improvement Program was based on Grim T. Allison's Organizational Process Model, which says that an outcome in any organization, institution, or government is the routines that go on within it. A routine is a series of activities that are designed to reach a goal. A series of routines is a scenario and a series of scenarios is a process. If your school is low achieving, it is low achieving because of what the students, teachers and administrators do in the school. If you want to change an outcome, you have to change the routines. You can't expect to get a new outcome doing the same old thing. That's what my research says.

I found a set of routines in the high-achieving Black elementary schools that were not present in the low-achieving Black schools. I found assessment routines, placements routines, pacing routines, monitoring routines, measurement routines, discipline routines, instructional routines, self-development routines, evaluation routines, and decision-making routines. These routines created an environment in which teachers could teach and students could learn. The attitude of the principal who established the routines was the most important aspect of the organization in the high-achieving schools. The principal had high expectations for all of his performers and demanded competence from teachers and students alike.

There has been a lot of talk about teacher participation in decision-making. That's fine if the teachers know what they are doing. It is not fine if they don't, or if the research is applied in schools where teachers actually resent high performing minority children because they interfer with their biases. Before teachers can operate in the best interests of African-American children, or Hispanic children, or any minority children, two things have to happen.

First, teachers must understand the subject being taught, from the concepts to the principles that hold the subject matter together. Then they must understand the cultural background that these kids bring to the teaching-learning situation. They have to understand the experiences that the students bring into the classroom. Walk into classrooms all over African-America and you can find teachers saying "Five goes into twenty-five how many times?" The African-American child processes this and says, "Goes into?" He thinks and answers, "5 goes into 25, 30." He looks at the answer and finds he is wrong. What this indicates is that the teacher doesn't understand division herself, because division is successive subtraction. If you want to teach division conceptually, you don't say "five goes into," which is adding. You would say, "How many times does five come out of twenty-five?" The student would processes that information, and he would understand the concept.

This is a problem we must confront. We have to be sure teachers understand what they are teaching. There are many teachers of all sizes, colors, and shapes in the United States of America who do not understand reading. They don't know how to teach it, they don't understand it themselves. I don't know how they learned to read. And there are teachers who don't understand mathematics. So many minority children are crippled because teachers don't understand what they are teaching.

At the University of Pittsburgh, I've had minority students in algebra who have trouble with negative numbers. A student will come to me and say, "I don't understand this, I have to get out of here. My GPA will be shot, I'll lose my money, and my mamma will kill me. I'm quiting this algebra stuff." I say, "What do you understand about mathematics?" The kid says, "I understand money". I say, "Fine, I am going to loan you five dollars," and the kid says, "OK." Then I say, "How much money do you have?" "I got five dollars." "No, that's my five dollars." The kid says, "Well I don't have anything." "You got my five dollars." The kid will scratch his head a while and then say, "Oh." So I say, "Now, if you spend my five dollars, what state are you in?" "I'm five dollars in the hole." "Right, you are worse off than zero." He says, "Yeah. I'm behind the eight ball." I say, "That's a negative number. Right?"

That illustration is about understanding the concept yourself and plugging it into the experience of an Afro-American student. An explosion takes place in the student's learning, and he understands what you are talking about. But, that's not what always happens in schools, because some teachers are bound by three false beliefs about minority group performance. The first is that minority students are genetically inferior. The second is that minority students are culturally deprived. Who ever heard of any living, breathing human being that doesn't have a culture? And third, that there is something wrong with the families of minority students. In other words, if you don't have a daddy in the house, you can't read.

Some teachers use those statements as a defense to justify not giving African-American children the best instruction possible. The routines that I found in the higher achieving black elementary schools were routines that dealt with this type of problem. Teachers were not allowed to think those things, much less practice them. Of course, many people say to me, "You have to change the attitudes before you can get anything to change." That's not necessarily so, at least not in the schools that I looked at.

I should have known this from when I was a superintendent. I stopped smoking when I was a superintendent, and I took up all the ash trays. Someone would come in the first time, smoking, and he would look around and say, "Excuse me, Mrs. Sizemore." He would leave the office, put out his cigarette and come back in. That person didn't smoke in my office anymore. His attitude about smoking didn't change, but he didn't smoke in my office because it was structured for non-smoking. Of course, I did have some board members who would put their cigarettes out in my plants, but I couldn't do anything about that but grin.

If you change the structure, the behavior will change and attitudes will follow. That is what the principals did in the high achieving elementary schools. They changed the structure, and the attitude of the teachers changed. As the children in those schools began to perform better and better, the teachers lost their beliefs that they couldn't learn.

Another thing these principals did was to provide a cultural impact on these schools. It is interesting for me to visit schools that are predominately Hispanic or African-American when they are empty. If I don't see any Hispanic or Black heros on the wall, or Hispanic or Black families, or Hispanic or Black cultural art, it makes a big statement. Because culture is the total of artifacts that a group uses in its struggle for survival and autonomy and independence.

We are a mixed up nation, more mixed up than most people want think or admit. That mixture ought to be reflected in the curriculum that we teach. We should teach the children the truth about every cultural group's struggle for survival and independence. It is not good for White kids to grow up thinking they are part of a superior race who discovered and invented everything that is considered good in this world, because that is not true. We will never be able to eliminate racism in this world as long as we go on teaching White kids this magnificent lie. They believe it, and so do a lot of minority people. Both groups act on these lies as though they were the truth.

All of us know that a lie will not stand. The truth will always rise. We should be dedicated as researchers and educators to the truth, and that is what we should always support. If we do not, then who are we?

PROMISING PRACTICES

Equity, Relevance, and Will

Kati Haycock
Achievement Council of California

Promising Practices for Developing Effective Instructional Programs. A lot of people interpret titles like that as suggesting that minority youngsters need something quite different from other youngsters. The notion here somehow is that we educate all kids the same. But somehow, black kids, brown kids and poor kids don't learn as much.

That's a serious misconception. The fact of the matter is, that we do not educate all children the same way. Into the education of minority and poor youngsters we put less of everything that we believe makes a difference in terms of quality education. We put in less instructional time. We put less in the way of well trained teachers. Less in the way of rigorous higher order curriculum. Less in the way of interesting books. Perhaps most important of all, we put less in the way of teachers who believe students can learn.

So how does this happen? What about equal opportunity: don't we have equal opportunity? No, we don't, and it occurs primarily in two ways.

The first way is that despite what we thought had happened with Brown vs. (Topeka) Board of Education and the numerous desegregation decisions that followed it, we continue to educate most minority youngsters separately from other youngsters. The amount of racial isolation that we see in our state has actually increased over the last several years. Why is this important? It is important because the schools that serve minority youngsters have fewer resources or resources of a lesser quality than other schools. They tend to have poor facilities, broken down buildings, boarded-up windows. They have less experienced teachers. They have unbalanced curricula, especially at the secondary level: balanced away from college preparatory subjects in the direction of what at best might be considered vocational or quasi-vocational in nature.

For those minority kids whom we don't get in this way, we have another practice, and that's called grouping and tracking. We get those students by sorting them into lower ability groups and educating them quite differently than we do other students. Those in the lower groups, as all of us know, get educated primarily by ditto. Ditto after ditto after ditto, throughout elementary and high school years.

It's hardly surprising, as a result of these two practices then, that no matter what index of academic achievement you use, minority students show up on the bottom. And the longer those youngsters remain in school, the wider the gap grows. Here in California, at the first grade level we see very few, if any, differences in actual achievement between minority youngsters and other youngsters. Generally, no more than about ten percentage points.

By the time those youngsters reach sixth grade, the gap has grown quite a bit larger. Many times on the order of about thirty percentage points. By the time those youngsters reach the twelfth grade, if they reach the twelfth grade at all, they've fallen enormously behind. In many California school districts, you'll see gaps of about sixty percentage points on tests like CTBS between the average Anglo youngster and the average black or Hispanic youngster.

Many, of course, do not graduate and among those who do, there are very, very few high-quality post-secondary opportunities. A recent study of California schools suggests that blacks and Hispanics who graduate from high school in California attain eligibility to enter one of our four-year public institutions at about one-quarter the rate of the average Anglo graduate.

Once they enter our four-year institutions, what happens? Typically, because their levels of preparation are considerably lower, they wash out of college at higher rates.

The cumulative effect of all of this is that what comes out of our education systems looks very, very different from what went in. Those who are prepared for white-collar professions are disproportionately Anglo and from affluent homes. Those who are prepared, at best, for blue-collar jobs are disproportionately minority and from poor families.

Not a pretty picture considering we've been at all of this for about twenty-five years.

The question we asked, however, was: Is all of this inevitable? All of us have, of course, heard the success stories. Stories about schools that take the kids nobody else seems to think can learn and somehow manage to produce striking achievement gains.

When we looked at the data for California, we found that some schools were doing a much better job than others at educating minority and poor students. Some schools were doing a much better job at helping them to prepare for or gain entry into good four-year colleges. Some were doing a better job at helping them to prepare for and find good jobs. Some were doing a better job of helping them to prepare to achieve at or above grade level.

But in all of that, the basic answer to our bottom line question was very, very clear. Minority and poor youngsters can achieve at the same high level as any other youngster in this nation. And schools absolutely do make a difference in whether that happens or whether that does not.

We looked carefully at the schools where students were achieving at much higher levels. What is it that made them different?

First and perhaps foremost is a determined principal. What we saw at successful schools around the state was not always the classic turnaround principal style. But we always saw determined school leaders: leaders who believed not only that kids could learn at the highest levels, but that they had to learn at the highest levels. And that determination was clear in everything those leaders did.

The second thing we saw was a clear focus on academics throughout the school -- a quality instructional program. What are the pieces of such a program? I want to give you a few hints from what we've seen around California.

The first is bound up in the notion that all students should be in grade level materials. It's interesting what a simple, but controversial, proposition that is. I was talking the other day to a principal from a junior high school in Oakland who was telling me that for years the children in her school, most of whom were black, had performed at very low grade levels. Typically those who entered at grade seven had fourth grade level skills. And the response to that, as the response nationally tends to be, was to put them in fourth grade level readers.

While they were doing that, they wondered why those kids never improved - why they never achieved at grade level. And finally it dawned on them: they didn't achieve at grade level because they were never exposed to grade level materials. So what they decided to do, in one fell swoop, was to put all kids in grade level materials.

They provided them with a lot of help after school: they provided them with some help during school. In one way or another, they made sure that kids who were having some difficulty got help. What happened? Scores went up tremendously, students felt better about themselves. The school has soared. A very simple idea, but surprisingly, rarely used.

Second, especially at the elementary level, we need to look carefully at what kind of books we use. A lot of studies have come out recently suggesting that in the inner city, our tendency is to use considerably less rich materials than we use elsewhere. Books at the first and second grade level tend to introduce about half as many new words as books that are used in the suburbs. That choice of books alone makes a major difference in what kids learn. We need to look at getting the richest possible materials in order to have a quality instructional program.

Third, schools that succeed tend to have virtually all of their students, in a common core curriculum, and a rigorous curriculum at that. They have very, very few branches to divide students. One thing both experience and the literature tells us: when you confront youngsters with a choice, to go the next highest class or go to less difficult class, poor kids will almost always opt into the lower class.

The more branches you have, the more often you push kids apart and the less likely low-income children are to learn. By reducing those branches in your curriculum - or where you must have branches, by reexamining standards for entry and by pushing as many as youngsters as possible up into the higher curriculum rather than allowing them to choose on their own - schools are more likely to give more kids the kind of education we know makes a difference in terms of achievement.

Fourth, the schools that work have figured out that educators don't communicate very well across level. What happens in many cases is that kids don't do well in a particular subject because they didn't get through the requisite chapter in the previous year. And the teacher never knew that. By bringing teachers together across level within discipline, to talk about what kids need to know and what those teachers need to do together to make sure they learn it, we generally get a much more closely sequenced curriculum and a better learning process for the student.

Fifth, as is probably obvious in the concept of a core curriculum, there is much more heterogeneity in classrooms in schools that work than there is in schools that don't. The general rule of thumb is: Even if you can't mix kids across achievement or ability levels all the time, the more you do of that, the more likely you are to have improved achievement. This is especially true if your teachers are trained to use available instructional strategies like cooperative learning.

Sixth, there's also something to the very simple notion that you get what you ask for, you get what you demand. What we see in successful schools' programs is teachers who demand a lot from their students. High expectations are something we talk about all the time, but how they are translated in effective schools is into demands. Many times when we talk to the teachers about what they ask of kids -- because we've seen that they're asking so much more in successful schools of the same age kids as is the case elsewhere -- they say that they too had not been convinced kids could master these kinds of things. But the teachers found that the more they asked, the more the kids delivered. So that their own expectations kept rising, and the kids kept learning more. Again, a very simple notion, but a very powerful one.

Finally, there is the matter of parent communication. There has been a lot of talk about parent involvement in education. There are lots of things that generally come to mind when we talk about all this, including volunteers in classrooms and increased attendance at back to school nights. But the one thing that's not commonly discussed is communication from the school to the home about how the youngsters are doing in school. The fact is that parents cannot help their kids if they don't know until the semester mark, or at least until the halfway mark, that their children are having difficulties. Successful schools have found that if they communicate with parents more regularly, if parents know early on that the youngsters are having some difficulty, even the poorest families, and the families with the least education, will somehow find ways to get their youngsters some help.

None of these are terribly difficult. They're all things where one can sit down at a school site and figure out how to proceed. The sad fact, however, is that there aren't very many schools where these things are in place. There are not very many exceptions to the general patterns I mentioned earlier. Our own organization is engaged in an effort to try and change all of that. We've decided to focus on several strategies that you may wish to consider as well.

One is to help more principals to become the leaders that they need to be in order to bring about change. Our own vehicle for doing this is what we call "Principal-to-Principal," which is an institute with a faculty of eighteen principals from high achieving, predominately minority schools that come to UCLA for a four day period and teach sixty other principals (we hope a hundred this year) the steps to school improvement. They'll work together over the coming year to help each other with the problems schools encounter in the turnaround process. This is one way, but there are certainly others, of helping principals to undertake the very difficult task of taking a low-performing school and pushing, shoving, pulling it ahead. We need to provide more principals with that kind of help.

The second way that we've chosen is to help schools build leadership teams. For as critical as a determined principal may be, successful schools generally have a committed leadership team that involves other administrators and a number of teachers. All team members are committed to changing their schools, and all are knowledgeable about the school improvement process. This, of course, is the participatory decision-making we hear so much about. I think all of us are well aware that not very much that could be labeled participatory decision-making goes on in schools today. Schools tend to be little fiefdoms where teachers close the door and teach, and administrators close their own doors and manage. That needs to be broken up. Teachers and administrators must see as their responsibility the need to improve achievement among minority and low-income kids. Our Teams Institute, which brings school teams to UCLA for 4-days, is making an effort to do just that.

A quick aside about categorical programs. One of the very sad outcomes of our extensive use of band-aid, add-on programs for providing assistance to minority and poor students is that in the minds of many so-called regular teachers and administrators, these kids are no longer their responsibility.

I can't tell you how many schools we visited, schools typically sixty or seventy percent ethnic minority, were we would ask the principal or vice-principal, "What are you doing to raise achievement among your minority and poor students?" And we would get in response either a blank stare, or a finger pointed to the trailer across the playground that housed the compensatory education reading lab, or another comment about the University of California coming on campus one day a week to talk to thirteen of our kids about going on to college. What we didn't hear is, "This is our school plan. This is how we've retooled our curriculum, this is how we've retrained our teachers, these are the kinds of decisions we have collectively made about what kids belong in what kinds of classes."

This is a serious problem for all of us. We simply must help regular classroom teachers, regular administrators, to come once again to the notion that motivated many of them to come into the classroom, the belief that they can change things for kids that need their help. We need to rekindle that feeling, that sense of responsibility for change.

In my view, if we can help more administrators and more teachers to regain that sense of responsibility -- if those of us who are in higher education,.and other places can help them with assistance in the way of ideas, available research on what works and what doesn't, even a shoulder to cry on, we can help to bring about the flood of activity that will bring about the gains that we need for minority and poor young people in this country.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Effective Instructional Approaches to Bilingual Education

Fred Tempes
California State Department of Education

I am from the California State Department of Education, and right now I'm in charge of our Office of Staff Development. However, prior to that I spent eight years in the bilingual education office, and I think that is why they asked me here today to talk about bilingual education and effective instructional approaches.

Effective instructional approaches in schools need to be based on some rationale, but often they are not. Bilingual education programs are a good example. If you go into a school and ask about the bilingual program, you might be directed to a particular classroom where one teacher has been successful with bilingual students. But there may be another teacher in the same school who takes a different approach, yet has a good class too. The first grade teacher may believe one thing, but the second grade teacher doesn't, so he does something different. Nobody gets together to talk about why they are doing what they are doing, and, as a result, kids go through a hiccup approach to education. Good, effective instructional approaches are based on some sort of rationale. I want to tell you how we attempted to implement that idea in bilingual programs in California, specifically in five California elementary schools.

Seventeen years ago, twenty-seven percent of the school age population in California was made up of minority group members. In 1980, that increased to forty-two percent. Coming up on 1990, we anticipate that it will be forty-eight percent, and by the year 2000, the minority will be the majority in our public schools.

Language minority students, students who have a home language other than English and who come from a home where another language is spoken, make up twenty-five percent of the student population in California--one in four. Twelve to thirteen percent of the students in this state are officially identified as having limited English proficiency--one in eight. Our problem is what to do for these kids, and I think that we may want to do something different. We need to look at the routines and practices that we are using in our schools and decide whether they are appropriate. In the elementary school project, we used a decision-making model in which outcomes are a response to instructional treatments or instructional treatment factors. Additionally, some outcomes occur because of the interaction between what is done in school and the kinds of kids who are coming to school.

One of the mistakes we have made in the past is that we wanted the kids to be different than they were. They didn't speak English, but we pretended they did. We treated them as if they spoke English. Obviously, what kids bring to school is a reflection of their community. If they come from a non-English speaking community, they probably won't speak English. If they come with some excess cultural and psychological baggage, they are going to have certain attitudes about the school system. All of those factors need to go into the mix. The things we have available to us in terms of instructional statements are related to educational background factors. Some, such as how much money we have in the school, turn out to be relatively minor. Other things are more important, like the attitude of the superintendent, the principals, and the teachers, and also how well informed our instructional decisions are.

When we started our program with the five schools, we asked the teachers what they wanted to have happen for their limited English proficient kids. They all came up with the following answers, and invariably, groups I talk to always do:

"We think these kids should speak and understand English." This is always the first response. I ask, "Is that all that you hope for these kids as a result of the instructional intervention you are talking about, that they can speak and understand English?" someone raises his hand and says, "We think they ought to do well in school, beyond grade level." There are a few gasps from the back of the room. "Well, maybe close to grade level." Their second concern is that students ought to adjust well to living in this multicultural society. Minority students should not feel that they have to reject some aspect of their backgrounds or reject participation in the majority culture.

Just knowing where you want to go, though, doesn't tell you how to get there. This is where we need to bring in some of the available information that often is not used to make instructional decisions. At the State Department of Education, we are neither researchers or practitioners. We are in between, and that is a good place to be. Researchers can tell us what they are doing, and since most of us have been practitioners, we feel we can interpret some of their findings for school people.

We have tried to do that in bilingual education with a series of books that we have published over the last six or seven years. The first book, "Schooling and Language Students," was followed up with "Studies on Emerging Education" right at the peak of the English-only movement. Our most recent publication, "Beyond Language," deals with non-language related factors in the education of limited English proficient students.

Publishing books is one thing, but really culling out the instructional approaches to it is another. We synthesized all this information and presented to the schools what we felt informed research was saying about the education of language minority students in the United States. We boiled the information down into five principles: what the theory of bilingual threshold is; what language proficiency is; how language proficiency in one language relates to another language; how kids acquire a second language; and how non-language factors influence the education of language minority students.

The threshold hypothesis examines the theory that bilinguals are more, or less, intelligent because they are bilingual. Do they suffer or do they gain some kind of academic advantage? Research is contradictory, but there has been some work that looks at the type of bilingualism involved and has really cleared up the question. Basically, we posited three types of bilingualism.

The first, limited bilingualism, occurs when a student has less than native proficiency in two languages. This student comes to school speaking a language that everyone says is not important. He is told to forget that language and learn English, so he tries to pick up the second language. Then, one day in the third or fourth grade, he realizes, "Gee, I really can't speak English, or write English, or read English as well as everyone else, and I can't speak Spanish, or read Spanish, or write Spanish as well as everyone else, either." This is subtractive bilingualism. A kid loses proficiency in one language while he is trying to play catch up in another. These kids seem to suffer negative affects associated with their bilingualism.

The second type of bilingualism is partial bilingualism, which is often the result of typical foreign language programs. Students study a language for three years, and can order a meal in a French restaurant anywhere outside of Paris or get a beer in Encinada, but it doesn't really affect their academic achievement.

Proficient bilingualism, the third type, is much more interesting. The research supports the notion that people who are at equally high levels -- native or nearly native -- of proficiency in both languages seem to gain some academic and cognitive benefits that are associated with their bilingualism. In other words, they do better on certain tasks than do monolingual students of either language.

A more crucial issue for us in California, and the one we were concerned with when designing an instructional approach for LEP kids, is the question of limited bilingualism. When kids come to school speaking Spanish and are convinced that they must drop Spanish and catch up in English, we find that these kids are two and three years below grade level by the sixth grade. We have to do something to prevent this loss of Spanish while students acquire English; students need to be able to do some tasks in Spanish at the same time. In order to get any kind of positive benefit from the instructional approach you choose, you must get beyond those thresholds.

The second principle concerns the dimension of language proficiency. Basically, language proficiency, in our view and based on the research, can be defined as the language ability necessary to complete a task found in one of four quadrants. The quadrants are defined by how difficult the task is, how cognitively demanding or undemanding the task is, and how much context there is for the task. I always give this example about the first grade student who has been in California only two weeks, and speaks only Spanish:

The teacher says, "Boys and girls, I want you to put your math books away and line up for lunch," and this little kid is the first in line. The teacher turns and says, "See how fast Juanito is learning English. He's only been here two weeks, and he's learned a lot of English." What did Juanito hear? Those who have had this experience as young children know exactly what he heard. He heard a bunch of noise. But Juanito knows that it's 11:30 in the morning, he's starting to get hungry, and the math books have been out for awhile. The teacher stands up and says something, and all the kids close their math books and line up for lunch. He knows he can excel at that last task, so he gets in line first. This is a context imbedded task.

A context reduced task, the other end of the continuum, occurs when the entire message is imbedded in language. Reading is an example. If a students picks up a journal article he's not familiar with and reads it without anyone giving him instruction, it is a context reduced task. Everyone acquires the basic language proficiency to complete context imbedded, cognitive undemanding tasks in some language. This is not the problem. The problem accompanies the context reduced task.

Not everybody develops the ability to complete cognitively demanding tasks in context reduced situations to the same degree. This is true among native speakers of English. Give them the CTBS or MAT test at the end of the sixth grade and their scores will be all over the map. The same is true for language minority students. We made a big mistake in California, and we are probably still making it in some places today. We assumed that when kids could complete context embedded tasks in English, they were no longer in need of any specialized instructional programs. They could defend themselves on the playground, they could ask permission, they could take home a note from the teacher, have it signed, and return it to the teacher. Based on their ability to do these things, we predicted that they were ready to do context reduced tasks.

This was not true. What the research showed was that it takes kids two to three years to learn how to do this type of task. It takes them five to seven years to approach grade level norms in terms of cognitive academic proficiency. That presented a problem. We weren't sure we had the resources to go five or six or seven years, the time needed to increase proficiency. However, there was another bit of research that helped us out.

There are two views about the way bilinguals process informatio: The first asserts that there is a common underlying proficiency, the second asserts that there is a separate underlying proficiency. With a separate underlying proficiency, the two languages are like two balloons in the brain, with the first language represented by L1 and the second language, English, by L2. If you want to develop English language proficiency, you must teach in

English. You blow up the L2 balloon. If you spend time instructing in the first language, you inflate the L1 balloon, taking up space that kids could be using to process English. Teaching in a language other than English is a waste of time.

Most of the public believe that this is true. Letters to the Los Angeles Times say, "What is this about teaching kids in Spanish? If they want to succeed in the U.S. they need to know English. You need to teach them in English." All of these people believe that teaching in the first language has no eventual influence on English skills and only take up valuable time.

The other view maintains that there is a common underlying proficiency. Academic skills learned in one language are readily expressed in a second language once a student has gained initial facility in the first. Once kids know how to read in Spanish, they will be able, by and large, to read in Englis. All they need, then, is to be able to speak English.

There is no research that supports the first view. Many research studies support the second, and this is what convinced the teachers that we work with. Kids who do well in one language do well in a second language. Kids who do poorly in their first language do poorly in their second language. If we can help them to do better in their first language, they will eventually do better in English. Our research and our project studies support this.

The fourth point deals with second language acquisition. We looked at the research on second language acquisition and it seemed to be divided into two schools of thought. Proponents of one think language should be taught sequentially, based on the introduction of specific grammatical skills. Kids learn this language, then the next. If any of you had a foreign language in high school, you probably were taught by this method. First you learned present tense forms. Next you learned personal pronouns, and you put the two together. The instruction was grammatically sequenced. After three years of putting the little blocks together you should have been able to speak that language. How many of you speak that language now?

The other school of thought says that second languages can be acquired the same way first languages are acquired. This research is based on the work of Steve Prashen, at USC, and others. Prashen talks about comprehensible input and non-grammatically sequenced input, input that is meaningful and supported by lots of contextual clues. The research indicated that this second method was the way to go.

The fifth point relates to the status of kids. Kids who don't speak English in California are, for the most part, minority students. Minority students suffer from unequal status in the classroom. Teachers interact differently with minority and majority students. They interact differently with kids who have accents and kids who don't. The high status kids get all the attention. Teachers don't ask kids who don't speak English to answer questions because they don't want to embarrass them. There is a status ranking in class, and it is reflected by the peer group. Minority students pick up on that fairly soon, in kindergarten or first grade, and they may not talk in class for a number of years.

There are certain status characteristics in our society, including ethnicity, dress, ages, and language. People tend to rank those things in a hierarchy based on their previous experiences and attitudes, and behave differently towards people as a result. When kids don't speak English, they don't ask as many questions. That behaviour, in turn, influences outcomes which reinforce the status characteristics, and around and around we go.

We tried to break that pattern up in the schools we worked with, and had, I think, some degree of success. Teachers were trained in cooperative learning. Tracking begins in elementary school, and we wanted to break that up. We placed perceived high-ability kids and perceived low-ablility kids in the same group. The input of everybody is valued, so that helps to break up the status ranking. We also trained teachers to give Maria the same amount of time to answer as every other student, to give the low achievers the same amount of time as the high achievers, and to move around the room and talk to all of the kids. These teaching methods are inequitably distributed in most schools. Teachers don't do it consciously, but it has been documented over and over and over again.

We put all of these points into an instructional program. The end product, the instructional design, addressed kids in four phases of language instruction: non-English speaking students; limited English kids who had been in the program a couple of years; kids who were more proficient but were still limited English; and fluent English proficient students.

Non-English speaking kids learned all their subject area material in Spanish. Language arts were taught in Spanish, math was taught in Spanish, science, health, and social studies were taught in Spanish. A little bit of ESL was incorporated for these students, using a natural approach or an approach not based on grammar, as the research suggested. Then, we treated them as if they were native speakers of English in art, music, and P.E., because the context level in those areas is so high. This gave us a chance to integrate them with native speakers of English, which didn't usually happen in other classes.

As the kids gained more proficiency, we started to move some of those content area classes into sheltered English. We taught math and science in English, but we taught it in a special way, with many contextual clues and a lot of teacher paraphrasing and built-in redundancy, using slower rates of speech. Often we didn't integrate the kids with native speakers; we kept them with non-native speakers because, I tell you, English is a powerful tool. If ten non-native speakers of English are put together with two native speakers, the teachers will teach to the native speakers. It is the register they are most familiar with. The other kids get lost.

In the third phase, we started to move more subjects into sheltered English and math and science into mainstream English. By the time students were in fourth grade, most of the kids were in phase four, and everything was being done in mainstream English. We also encouraged the schools to maintain some academic use of Spanish. These kids were already four or five years down the road to becoming proficient bilinguals, and if there are intellectual advantages to proficient bilingualism, as the threshold hypothesis suggests, why should students forget Spanish?

The results of this program, which will be reported in another paper, were fairly encouraging. The five schools did very well. Some of them did exceptionally well, including the one in Los Angeles. Los Angeles has replicated this program, I think, in seven or eight schools. The last time we counted, there were about 25,000 students enrolled in spinoff programs from the model we developed for these five schools. The same kind of instructional design was used because it was based on sound research, the best research available at the time.

To conclude, there are some things I would do differently if we were to start this project again. I would have greater faith in the research that we synthesized and I would not move so rapidly from Spanish to English. We found that the more things we taught in Spanish and the higher our expectations were in Spanish, the better the students did in English. I also would make greater changes in the organizational structure of the schools. I think if we had changed the decision-making process, we would have started to address some of the many other issues that are related to the achievement of language minority students.

Other than that, I think we are on the right track. When you design an effective instructional program for minority children or for underachieving children, it must be based on some rationale, and someone has to be able to make the rationale explicit. People don't necessarily have to agree with the underlying rationale, but they need to be informed by a principal who is an instructional leader, and who will say, "You are free to disagree, but you are not free to do something else in this school, because this is where we are going."

PROMISING PRACTICES

Reducing Dropouts

Michael Timpane
Teacher's College, Columbia University

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PROMISING PRACTICES

Systemic Approaches to Reducing Dropouts

Michael Timpane
Teacher's College, Columbia University

There will be three points that will interweave through my remarks that strike me as overarching in talking about dropouts. One is that the act of dropping out is really a symtom or a symbol of shortcomings and failures in the social and economic and education systems.

The second point is that from the individual's point of view, and often from the school's point of view, dropping out is the anti-climactic conclusion of a long, visible, and painful process. There are few surprise actors in the tragedy of dropping out.

The third point is the point that Henry Levin made this morning--that is, for a series of profound and durable demographic and economic reasons, the issues represented by this symbol of dropping out are going to be with us for a very long time and, no doubt, in a more and more serious form.

I think that if we bear those three fundamentals in mind, we can have some chance to address the problems that dropping out stands for in our education system and in our society. If we do not, we may not.

In historical perspective, it is interesting to note that for the past ten to fifteen years, up until just a year or two ago, the issue of dropouts had virtually disappeared as an issue in education policy. It had a certain currency in the late `60's. There was a Dropout Prevention title in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and a series of demonstration projects funded by the Federal Government--and many manpower programs, such as the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, were aimed at the group of young people who were going to have trouble finishing school and making the transition to the rest of their lives. Attention to all of those problems and, indeed, to the problem itself waned greatly throughout the 1970's. It is not a strictly partisan phenomenon. I did

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not locate it at the beginning of the Reagan administration; it goes further back. Why?

The most realistic analysis is that society, and especially the economy, could get along without the dropouts. To be sure, it was annoying that so many people were unqualified at the hiring desk, but at the bottom line, as employers are fond of saying, there was a labor surplus. One could "cream" the public schools, take the best of their graduates; one could recruit from private and parochial schools and take a great many of their graduates, and one could sit back and enjoy the influx for the first time of millions and millions of women returning to the labor market--and all this in the context of the baby boom passing through the entry years of the labor market. One could be worried about those whom the schools were failing, but not too worried--one's needs were satisfied.

This was always a shortsighted policy, because it ignored the economic costs of crime, welfare, unemployment, and the loss of productivity, not to mention the reduced earning power and quality of life of the individuals concerned. But it was nevertheless a pervasive policy. In the `80's, though, perceptions began to change, and precisely because all of the trends mentioned above began to reverse themselves. The baby boom ended; the increasing rate at which women were re-entering the labor market began to diminish. There were fewer young people, and the competition was greater. Institutions of higher education were, shall we say, adjusting their standards. The military was sustaining and expanding its appetite for young college graduates. All at once, potential labor shortages loomed. Employers began to conclude that from their self-interest (not altruism, not enlightened impulses toward social justice) they needed every single young person in our high schools to be well and adequately trained. Attention began to shift to those populations who are not being so well-trained, who are not so frequently completing high school with adequate skills, and who are over-represented among dropouts. So the issue is hot now--because, as is so often the case in education, society has needs. If education is swift and smart, education will respond to that need, because it is an appropriate and legitimate need, but in a way that builds and strengthens education itself. Education's objectives and society's objectives are coincident in a way that they have not been before. It is, then, a time of great and sustained opportunity, a time when there is great political and economic concern and strength behind us in dealing with dropouts.

This was, really, the latent message of the reports of the so-called excellence movement in the early `80's. The message was latent, and it is only as persons like yourselves have reexamined and reflected upon those reports and the imperative call for educational improvement that we have come to understand that true excellence in our schools is and must be deeply and profoundly equitable. If more excellence is needed, for whom is that greater excellence needed more than for those groups which have had the least of that excellence so far, namely, the minorities and the disadvantaged? We should continue to worry that the excellence movement may become a threat to equity, but I would argue, nevertheless, that it is also an opportunity. Strangely enough, no one understands this better that the business community. Indeed, the business community understands this better than many other sectors of our society, including some sectors of education, which ought to know better.

The neglect of a decade or more leaves us in some ways poorly prepared to make progress, to take advantage of the opportunity. The issue was largely ignored in educational research, as well as in the policy area. When the Teacher's College Record published a volume on dropouts a year ago, it was, to my knowledge, the first collection of fresh articles on the issue in perhaps fifteen years. There had been an article here and an article there, but this was the first time that any community of scholars had come together to develop a more-or-less comprehensive perspective on the issue. The consequence of this extended dearth of new thinking is that as we talk today about what we know and what is working, we speak about promise as much as about proof. We have many promising activities launched, but few have had time to be proven. There will be trial and error in what we do as a result of past neglect.

Secondly, the database on dropouts is a hopeless mess. I tried to review it in preparing for this talk today, and I came away confused and discouraged. I thought I knew what the dropout rate was. I thought I knew what a dropout rate was! I do not know what a dropout rate is any more, let alone what the dropout rate is. In New York City, the range of published opinion on the matter in the last six months goes from thirty-three to fifty-three percent, and these researchers are using fairly similar methodologies of cohort analysis, differing only in the details. It appears that the dropout rate may be between thirty-three and fifty-three percent in many cities, and most cities do not know which figure is closer to the fact.

There have been reports for fifteen years that the dropout rate is about twenty-five percent in the nation and holding steady, but now Chester Finn and others analyzing the 1980 census data report that among people twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age, only fourteen percent say they have not finished high school.

Locally, of course, the issue is more confused than at the national level. A recent survey of twenty-one cities found almost that many different methodologies for computing dropout rates. As a result, there was nothing to compare among cities, no benchmark one might look at. Rules concerning age, grade level, counting period, frequency of attendance, extended absence, student transfers, and attendance in alternative systems differ wildly. How could this happen? My answer is political: Mostly, because we did not care very much. If we had cared very much as a nation we would damn well know what the dropout rate was much more accurately than we do. If it were a profoundly important political issue at the local level, we would know more than we do. But the accurate analysis of dropout patterns was obviously not as important as trying to avoid blame for having a high dropout rate or trying to preserve state aid based on attendance figures--both of which seem to me, in my brief review of the literature, to be far more important determinants of how dropouts are counted than any analysis of the etiology of the dropout problem.

What do we know with some fair confidence about the most common patterns of dropping out? The pattern begins very early. It is most often observed in poor and minority families, those who are least well-prepared and have the lowest expectations and least support for the educational enterprise. It often includes a lack of early-childhood training, early school failure, sometimes culminating in holding back, and a pattern of falling farther and farther behind. It includes the development of low self-esteem and of a fatalistic outlook on the part of the student. Later, it includes truancy, absenteeism, in-school delinquency, and suspension. But one thing it does not include is lack of academic talent. I have never seen a dropout study that could find much difference in the range of academic talent between dropouts and any comparison group in the school and the community. That amounts to a double tragedy: we are producing incompetent people who could very well be highly competent.

As the point of dropping out approaches, the pattern seems to culminate for the student in active dislike for school, alienation from it, and rejection of it--all accompanied by "pushout," the significant collaboration of the school in the latter stages of the process. For some students who have been through this pattern, dropping out is the easiest thing they ever did in the school. They are welcomed into that central office as they have never been welcomed before, on that day when they come in to say that they are not going to grace this school with their presence anymore.

And finally, there is a decision to go to work or to the street, and, in the case of young women, there is very often pregnancy and motherhood.

During the past decade, the consequences of dropping out have been increasingly devastating, as it more and more conforms to the cycle of dependency for young families formed in this way, and as it becomes a more and more serious economic disaster for the young person who drops out. When Jerrold Bachman did one of the first modern studies of dropping out twenty years ago, he found many cases in which the dropouts, at least in the short run, did as well economically as similar young people who has stayed in school. By and large, those days are gone forever. Dropping out is now an economic disaster for the person who drops out. The unemployment rate is astronomical even as compared to high school graduates, let alone to people who might go on to college.

What can work against this pattern? There is much that is promising and has, in individual instances, worked to reduce dropouts. The litany would include:

- Good early childhood programs
- Smaller schools
- Alternative schools
- Summer programs
- Programs with a larger experiential base or component
- Bilingual programs
- Administrative steps that change the rules of re-entry to make it easier for students to return to school
- Programs that focus on teenage mothers

- Programs that focus on extended intensive counseling
- Programs that focus on collaborative efforts drawing on the business community and social service and community organization

All these approaches can work, and there seem to be instances in the literature in which they all do. But, considering the process I described earlier, many of these start late in the game. And in aggregate, the situation does not seem to improve much. We seem to have the problem encountered so often in education in which we can find hundreds of programs that work, and yet what we accomplish is to stand still at best. We cannot today say to ourselves that we have begun to make substantial inroads into the dropout problems in our nation or in our urban schools.

There is, then, a giant step yet to be taken. We must look beyond all special programs and projects for dropouts and begin to correct how the system as a whole works. And that, with all of the shortcomings of the excellence movement, is the fundamental insight of the education reforms proposed in the last four to five years. Look at the system itself rather than concentrating on improving this, that, or the other program which might correct this, or that, or the other aspect of the system. In looking at the system itself, the prescriptions are going to be the prescriptions heard this morning. We must give value to these students and their culture, both as individuals and as we construct the curriculum; the assumptions that these children bring to school are often remarkably different from the assumptions of the inherited curriculum in that school, and we must examine that right at the outset. We must understand and attend to their individual needs and talents and strengths which may not be packaged in the conventional categories upon which school success has been predicated. We must expect them to succeed academically. We must create a disciplined climate of encouragement and fairness in the schools--not authoritarian rules, but a disciplined environment that pushes and presses students toward achievement. We must design a system that gives individual schools and teaching professionals autonomy and resources to respond daringly to local needs; the difference of these local contexts cannot be under-estimated in constructing appropriate educational responses. And we must draw on the family and the community and business to work collaboratively with us. It is in the nature of the problem that no one institution is going to be able to solve it. And we must nct track or shunt off the problem to our Chapter I program or to our vocational education program or to our special education program or to our dropout program or to our alternative setting. Not that all of those do not have a role in the solution, but we must confront the issue in every ordinary school and ordinary classroom and begin to surmount it there, or we will not succeed in conquering it elsewhere.

We need, then, to be talking about programs that engage the whole school, a school that is open and reaching out to the community it serves, and drawing that community in rather than walling that community off, a high status place with high expectations. Only then will fewer students endure the extended agony and the dire consequences of dropping out.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Reducing Dropouts Through Community Promoted Initiatives

Roger D. Mitchell
The National Urban League

The issue of school dropouts is one that has been with us for a long time. It remains a subject of extensive research, debate, and handwringing among parents, teachers, local school administrators and national policy makers. By engaging in an ERIC search, one can acquire an extensive bibliography on the subject composed of citations of position papers, project descriptions, and research reports. Despite this growing body of literature, the dropout problem remains as a grim, constant reminder of a major failure in our multi-billion dollar education industry. A very positive element surrounding this issue is the continuing search for promising practices on reducing dropouts. The following discussion profiles two specific programs that indicate promise of contributing to the solution, while at the same time addressing much broader issues.

In 1985, the National Urban League launched a five year Education Initiative in response to the growing list of blatant inequities existing in the educational system. For Example:

- Black college enrollment has decreased 18% since its high point in 1976.
- Dropout rates from high school are two to three times greater for black students than for white students.
- The average child from a bottom quarter income family receives four fewer years of education than the child from a top quarter income family.
- Only half of the almost 10 million eligible students actually receive Chapter I compensatory education services.

With the launching of the Education Initiative the National Urban League continued and heightened its leadership in the effort to upgrade the quality of education for all students in general and for black, poor and minority students in particular. Educational equity and excellence are the standards by which progress is assessed. Equity as now defined, holds that in addition to access, the educational system must provide a learning environment in which black and poor students are able to demonstrate results which are commensurate with those of white students. Equity of educational programs can be measured by outcomes, such as reduction in drop-out and push-out rates, improved attendance, improved retention rates of minorities in the four-year higher education programs, proportionate representation in programs for the gifted, reduction in the disproportionate representation of minority males in disciplinary actions, (such as suspensions and expulsions) and standardized test scores which more nearly approximate those of similar white populations.

A Nation At Risk asserts that "the twin goals of equity and high-quality schooling have profound and practical meaning for our economy and society, and we cannot permit one to yield to the other either in principle or in practice" (pg. 13). In pursuing these goals 90 of the 111 Urban League affiliates have designed education projects for black, minority and poor students in their service areas, aimed at overcoming their educational disadvantage, and providing access to higher education and employment.

Rochester, New York has an extraordinary program in operation. The Rochester Urban League continues its community-wide education initiative, begun in 1985, which now involves over 60 local organizations in school improvement. The nearly 600 persons involved have formed building-based projects implemented by numerous school action committees, each of which is a member of a city-wide steering committee.

Joining forces with the Center for Educational Development, the Rochester Urban League developed a community task force on education whose educational theme focused on the need:

- To involve parents more fully in their children's education and to improve communication between home and school.

- To involve pupils more fully in their own education.

- To encourage the professionalization of teaching.

- For pre-kindergarten education.

The task force's goal was "To engage the entire community in this initiative." Every segment of the community has an important role.

1. School-readiness was to be encouraged by city school district and community organization programs in parenting education, school/home coordination, and funding.

2. Parents, as the child's first teachers and continuing guardians, have vital roles in student health and motivation, and in supporting school activity and monitoring student progress.

3. Teachers, as "Professional partners of the education team," were urged toward further professionalization, while setting high quality educational goals for their students and cooperating with parents to accomplish those ends.

4. Business community commitment was sought to implement the recommendations of the Chamber of Commerce/Industrial Management Council Task Force. These included commitment to:

    - Provide job placement opportunities as incentives for student performance.

    - Join in partnerships between individual businesses and schools at every school building in the district.

    - Help market education, in order to raise community awareness and participation in schooling.

    - Provide opportunities to teachers and staff to help enhance teaching and school management skills.

5. Community groups were given three general recommendations:

- Make education a focus of all organizations.

- Provide reinforcement by community funding sources.

- Provide volunteer support for education.

6. Human Service Agencies were called upon to:

    - Be knowledgeable about public school achievement issues and concerns.

    - Make improvement of education achievement a priority in their work with parents and students.

    - Communicate the availability of their supportive services to educators and potential service consumers.

7. Cultural organizations play vital roles in providing arts that enhance student understanding of the world around them and help to build student self-esteem and personal development. Therefore they were urged to:

    - Establish collaborative educational plans for city school district students.

    - Enhance their services and make them known to this clientele.

8. Service organizations, including labor unions, veteran, fraternal, social and other organizations, also were urged to expand upon some of their current activities in support of education.

9. Religious institutions were asked to consider the many activities for youths, parents, and families that can help to ensure the background strengths on which the challenges of educational achievement rest.

10. Colleges and universities play a major role in the educational life of the community, beyond educating teachers and school administrators. Further staff

development, curricular consultation, and student motivation and training were cited as examples.

11. Libraries are important complements to the educational system, through access to their collections and through programming that helps students to understand ways in which learning fits them for the world around them.

12. The Department of Recreation and Community Services, through its athletic, arts and crafts programs for children and youth helps to reinforce values that enhance school performance. Complementary relationships between these programs and the school offerings increase the effectiveness of both.

As a result of the task force's "Call to Action," a phenomenal number of school-community partnerships were formed in a relatively short period of time - 13 months. A partial list includes:

- Deloitte, Haskins and Sells will be working with Monroe High School to introduce accounting as a viable career choice for minority students through speakers, field trips, and provision of materials.

- The Gift Center and Third Presbyterian Church are teaming up with School 6 to detail needs and develop complementary programs using volunteers and donations from the church.

- Monroe Community College's Educational Opportunity Program is working with a number of Monroe High School seniors who are at risk, in order to insure their graduation.

- NOBCCHE (National Organization for the Professional Development of Black Chemists and Chemical Engineers) is continuing its award-winning joint science curriculum enrichment with School 2.

- University of Rochester helps sponsor the Career Beginnings Program, in which high school seniors get summer jobs and meet with adult mentors during the school year.

School action committees across the city school district were formed last year by principals of the district's 45 schools and community volunteers, with support and organizational assistance from the Urban League of Rochester. The objectives of these groups were tailored to address the perceived needs of the various schools. They ranged from direct academic objectives such as improving reading and language skills, to providing tutoring, improving student attendance and reducing suspensions, improving school image and/or environment, and improving parent understanding and parent/community involvement and parent/school communication.

A unique aspect of the citywide education initiative is the effort being made to raise public awareness about the issues and the program. Hutchins/Young and Rubicam is the lead agency serving in partnership with the Education Task Force of the Advertising Council of Rochester in a communications campaign supporting quality education in Rochester. The focus of the communications effort is to reach students, parents, teachers and school administrators, community and business leaders, as well as the general public. As described by the campaign director:

- "First and foremost, there will be a common program identity.

- Second, there will be a theme for the general community and its segments that speaks to our shared responsibility to help kids learn.

- Third, we will establish a different theme for the kids that speaks their language, in terms they understand and will respond to.

- Fourth, all the messages will have a compelling emotional element to them.

- And finally, we will promote progress as it is made, to keep the momentum going."

It is clear that a major commitment has been made by all of the major segments of the Rochester community to effectuate change in support of quality education. This commitment has been translated into action by many groups. The change has begun.

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The Urban League of Flint, Michigan has initiated a program to collaborate with local school districts and other educational institutions to improve academic achievement. The program, entitled Equal Results Educational Initiative, identified four components which address barriers to black educational achievement in Flint. These were identified by the "Think Tank Committee," a volunteer community based group of parents and educators who serve as an advisory board to the Educational Initiative. The components include:

1. PARENT ENRICHMENT - Focusing on assisting parents in becoming more effective advocates for their children by providing information on accessing the school system, preparing children to function equally and competitively with majority culture children, and providing parenting information on techniques that produce confident, disciplined, young people able to succeed in spite of barriers.

2. INCENTIVES FOR SUCCESS - A long term approach to providing comprehensive assistance to children out of school. Twenty (20) high risk seventh graders have been selected to participate in a six year educational enrichment program which will focus on overcoming individual barriers to their educational success. Participants who complete this program and successfully graduate from high school, will be rewarded scholarships to fund their post high school educations.

3. INCENTIVES FOR BLACK SCHOLARS - Seeks to encourage those black high school honor graduates who have demonstrated academic excellence by honoring all black high school graduates at a Black Scholars Awards Dinner.

In addition, efforts will be made to increase the number of black scholars by offering alternative guidance, support and scholarships so that each black scholar will be able to adequately finance post high school education.

4. CONFLICT RESOLUTION SCHOOL INITIATIVES - Focuses on reducing the number of black students suspended from school for fighting, by training students to be volunteer conflict managers within the schools. This will be an effort whereby the Urban League will work with school officials and parents seeking to use this alternative method of identified black reactive behavior that is hindering academic achievement.

Activities for all four program components were launched in January 1987. A number of program objectives have already been attained.

In the Parent Enrichment Component, parents of at-risk students entering middle school were chosen as the target population. A series of five one and one-half hour workshop modules were developed for use with participating parents. The modules were designed to:

- Highlight the complications involved in raising children today.
- Point out the predominate influence parents have in the lives of their children.
- Suggest methods to help parents positively influence their children's lives.

The five program modules were entitled:

1. Overview: Challenges of Parenting in the 80's.
2. Challenges of Early Adolescence.
3. Nurturing Self Concept.
4. Social Pressures of Early Adolescence.

5. Parent Involvement in Successful Academic Preparation.

Outside speakers were engaged to make presentations to the parents at each session. The five workshops were run over a seven week period, with twenty-one parents participating.

Most of the first five months work on the Incentives for Success component was spent on planning and start-up activities. The Incentives for Success Advisory Committee hosted a banquet for the twenty parents and students at Bryant Middle School with whom the committee will be working. Seven of those parents agreed to join the committee.

The Advisory Committee developed an Incentives for Success Statement of Commitment stating the program's objectives and identifying the comprehensive support services to be provided to student participants. Those included:

- Tutorial Services
- Mentors
- Crisis Intervention
- Cultural Enrichment
- Career Awareness
- Self Concept/Self Esteem Development
- Peer Support
- Manners and Morals Development

To formally engage parent participation and support for this program, a Parent Commitment Pledge was also developed for the parents or guardians of student participants to sign.

In May, the students, who are considered members of the Incentives for Success Club, and their parents and adult sponsors were special guests at the Flint Urban League's Salute to Black Scholars Banquet.

The stated goal of the third program component, Incentives for Black Scholars, is to recognize and support the academic achievements of black graduating high school students throughout Genesee County, thereby encouraging them to continue to achieve and influence younger students to emulate them and strive to graduate as black scholars. To attain this goal the program will:

> Identify black high school seniors in the Flint area with very good and excellent grades.

Provide recognition for the achievement of those students earning cumulative 3.0 grade point averages by the third quarter of their senior year.

Provide motivation and information to students eligible to be black scholars. Over the course of their senior year, to further promote academic achievement, post-secondary education and career planning.

Track black scholars as they move through their educational and occupational careers, for record keeping and to provide a resource pool for the Urban League of Flint and the Community.

Provide financial assistance for the continuing education of eligible black high school seniors.

In February, the Black Scholars Incentives Subcommittee hosted an Orientation Rally for newly identified scholars. One hundred seventy-three letters were mailed to students identified by eleven school districts in the county as eligible to participate. Approximately 140 students and their parents attended the rally.

In May a Salute to Black Scholars Banquet was held honoring 114 students. Twenty organizations joined the Urban League in presenting scholarships to 73 students. Urban League administered scholarships totalling more than $50,000. In addition, each black scholar received a $50.00 United States Savings Bond.

A widely quoted statistic indicates that at high school levels, black students are suspended three times as often as white students. The Conflict Resolution School Initiative seeks to see that conflict mediation techniques are used in resolving conflicts with students instead of standard disciplinary measures, thus reducing the incidence of school suspension.

This component is patterned after "Justice Without Walls," a program sponsored by the Flint Human Relations Commission, which calls for disputants to discuss their problems and solve their differences before a panel trained in conflict resolution. While this program is aimed at helping resolve conflicts in the community, the Urban League's Conflict Resolution School Initiative specifically targets high school students.

For those wishing to serve as mediators the training is free and voluntary. Each trainee receives 20 hours of training in conflict mediation techniques, using a special training manual, video tape, and role playing in which the students practice the different roles involved in a conflict.

In the period January - May 1987, a total of 32 persons successfully completed training. These included 13 students, 9 school staff, 6 community volunteers and 4 which were unidentified as to group. There is a growing waiting list for the next round of training. In addition to the local training effort, the Flint Board of Education sent one of its staff persons to be trained as a trainer by Community Boards in Washington, DC. This person will assist the Urban League effort in training Flint Community School's students and staff during the summer.

Commenting on the Conflict Resolution Program, the Superintendent of the Beecher School District stated that the District is adopting the program because it will give students an alternative route to solve conflicts. He also said the program will definitely reduce suspensions, and he hopes students will use it in their lives.

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The two programs described above highlight the key elements of educational equity and excellence for the communities and students being served. The Rochester Program is unique in the scope of activities being conducted, in the broad base of community organization support and participation, and in the relatively short period of time it took to attain the current level of program activity. Likewise, the Flint program has quickly rallied community support and participation for its more focused agenda on parent and student support services.

Since both programs have been operating for less than a year, they have not had time to fully mature, or to generate sufficient data to be able to claim success in realizing educational change and significant positive outcomes for disadvantaged students in their respective communities. What can be confidently stated is that these two programs, like a number of others being run by Urban League affiliates, represent promising practices that will not only impact on the dropout problem, but on the broader issue of educational equity and excellence.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Innovative Community Sponsored Projects

Lori S. Orum
The National Council of La Raza

Introduction

Over the last several years, the National Council of La Raza has been engaged in an effort to develop and demonstrate five innovative community-based approaches to improve the educational status of Hispanics. Three of the five projects are designed to address the school-age groups and special populations which both national research and local community experience indicate are among the most educationally "at-risk." The remaining two projects address the needs of parents and teachers, whose informed assistance is essential to improve educational outcomes ·for Hispanic children and youth. Support for initial program development efforts was provided primarily by a grant from the American Can Company Foundation. Further development and technical and evaluation assistance to local groups seeking to demonstrate the models has been supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the AT&T Foundation.

There is an overwhelming need for community-based educational programs which can supplement school offerings and work with parents and teachers to increase their ability to help Hispanic children learn. Educational outcomes for Hispanics are well below those for other major U.S. subgroups, and current levels of local, state and federal resources devoted to improving the situation are inadequate. In addition, efforts which are solely remedial and not preventive in nature do not improve the education provided for the thousands of Hispanic children entering school each year. While the Council continues to work at the national level to advocate systemic reforms in teacher training, parent and adult education, effective school practices and programs, and appropriate programs for at-risk children, the Council also believes that much change can be effectively initiated through community-generated local projects.

The five models being demonstrated are:

- **The Academia del Pueblo,** which addresses the problems of early academic failure and grade retention faced by many Hispanic children in elementary school, by establishing after-school and summer "academies" to provide reinforcement and supplemental educational assistance to help children meet and exceed grade promotion requirements in elementary school;

- **Project Success,** which is designed to serve Hispanic youth in junior high schools to increase their high school completion and college entrance rates by providing them with academic enrichment, career and academic counseling and other special opportunities;

- **Project Second Chance,** which serves those youths who have already left school -- Hispanic dropouts -- and provides them with both education and counseling so that they can gain either a high school equivalency certificate or diploma;

- **Parents as Partners,** which recognizes that Hispanic parents are their children's most important teachers but often lack the necessary skills to help their children progress successfully through school, and provides training and assistance to parents so they can become active partners in their children's education;

- **The Teacher Support Network,** which brings community resources together to provide training and assistance to Hispanic teachers and other teachers working with Hispanic children so that those teachers may benefit from the latest educational research and curriculum and receive greater community support for their efforts.

Each of these projects is designed to be implemented by Hispanic community-based organizations, in cooperation with parents, schools, members of the business and corporate communities and other appropriate local organizations. The National Council of La Raza assists demonstration sites in securing resources to demonstrate the selected model project. The Council also provides demonstration sites with the necessary training and technical assistance to implement the models, and monitors and evaluates the projects. Additionally, the Council facilitates the transfer of information among demonstration projects, so that the various projects can learn from each other's successes and errors.

II. Description of Models

A. The Academia del Pueblo

Early school failure has been shown to be perhaps the greatest predictor of a child's later dropping out of school, and at each grade level a higher percentage of Hispanic children are enrolled below grade level than are White children. According to the 1985 Current Population Survey, approximately 28.0% of Hispanic children in grades one through four were enrolled behind modal grade -- that is, the grade in which they would normally be expected to be enrolled given their age. The proportion below grade level rises to 39.5% among Hispanic children in grades five through eight, and 43.1% in grades nine and ten. A recent report from California indicates that **achievement** below grade level is even more widespread; 80% of Hispanic fluent-English speaking youngsters were reported to be performing below grade level by third grade.

The Academia del Pueblo is a community-based after-school and summer educational program designed to help elementary school-age children meet and/or exceed grade promotion requirements and thereby reduce the rate of school delay among Hispanic children. This program provides reading reinforcement and supplemental educational activities to help children master required skills and build upon what is taught in local schools. The concentration is on strengthening children's English language skills, especially reading and writing. It serves both English-fluent and limited-English proficient children, helping to assure that they receive the services needed to speak, understand, read and write English fluently.

The Academia also includes a Spanish language component, designed to build upon children's native language skills or to introduce Spanish as a second language. Depending upon local needs, including whether or not there is a bilingual program available in the local schools, Spanish may also be used as a language of instruction for other subjects such as math and social studies. The Academia program for "at-risk" children is designed to meet for approximately two hours per day after school and to offer two-day and four-day programs, depending on the children's needs. While the general focus of the Academia is to provide enrichment and remedial educational support for at-risk children, the Academia may also offer programming for gifted children.

Each Academia is to create and nourish a three-way partnership between the Academia, parents and the cooperating local school(s). Each Academia operates in cooperation with selected local schools whose teachers -- with the permission of parents -- provide Academia staff with information on individual student progress, and work with the Academia to identify the individual needs of each student. In return, teachers are provided with quarterly reports from the Academia on student attendance and progress, and assistance in increasing parent participation in education. The Academia is also designed to utilize some public and/or private school teachers as after-school and summer Academia teachers, which further strengthens the school-Academia linkages.

Parent involvement is a critical part of the Academia model. There is a very slight charge for enrollment in the Academia (usually no more than $15.00 per session with a fee-waiver available), however, in order to enroll a child in the Academia program, parents must sign a cooperative learning plan in which they agree to:

- Establish household rules about homework and help their children comply with those rules;
- Review and sign the child's homework on a daily basis so the teacher knows that the parent has seen the homework;
- Help their children obtain a library card;
- Read to their child, or have their child read out loud to them for an individually-determined number of minutes per week; and
- Attend at least half the parent training seminars or meetings organized by the Academia.

The Academia provides a monthly seminar or training activity for parents, concentrating on teaching parents about child development and learning reinforcement techniques to use at home. The meetings are also used to provide parents with progress reports and information about their child's attendance and work at school and in the Academia.

The Academia staff may be composed of teachers, student teachers and interns from local colleges and universities, retired teachers and administrators, and high school honor students serving as peer tutors. However, there must be at least one lead teacher who is a fully credentialed and experienced classroom teacher. The student tutors are an especially important part of the Academia, since they not only provide instruction but also serve as role models for the children. Core Academia staff must be bilingual. The Academia must offer regular staff development seminars for all staff to discuss and demonstrate various teaching methods and new curricula, to share information on emerging educational research, and to facilitate the development of staff-initiated curricula and special programs. The Academia includes planning and staff development time as part of the teachers' paid time as staff are expected to work with the Academia director to develop and adjust programs and teaching strategies and to maintain frequent contact with parents and regular school teachers.

B. Project Success

Curricular tracking, which typically becomes formalized in junior high school, often causes Hispanic students to be placed in curricular programs which have no exit and no future. The curricular tracks that most Hispanic students are assigned to seem to increase the risk that they will leave school without a diploma or the skills necessary to be productive adults in competitive jobs. Dropout rates are far higher among youths in general education and vocational tracks than those in academic curricular tracks. Even when youth do successfully complete a vocational track, recent research indicates that most employers prefer workers who are fully literate and know how to learn other new skills, rather than those who are simply narrowly trained in a specific vocation or trade, which may be obsolete by the time the youth enters the labor market. While high quality vocational programs are a valid course for some students, many vocational programs do not meet that quality test. After extensive testimony on the out-datedness and lack of academic skills taught in many vocational education programs, the federal government passed sweeping changes in the federal Vocational Education Act in 1984. However, those changes, where they are implemented, will take some time to trickle down to the local level, and will affect only vocational programs, not the "general" education tracks.

Thus, Hispanic students are disproportionately enrolled in curricular programs of questionable quality and usefulness. By their senior year in high school, three out of four Hispanic youths have been placed in tracks which make college enrollment unlikely. Over-enrollment in these tracks occurs in part because of routine tracking by counselors and teachers with low expectations for Hispanic children, and in part because Hispanic children and parents lack information about other options. Also, as a result of early school failures, many Hispanic junior high school and high school students are substantially below grade level in achievement and need supplemental tutoring and remediation to be able to participate successfully in academic classes. While Hispanic parents and students have high educational and occupational aspirations, both often lack information to make those dreams become reality.

Project Success is an after-school and summer program for at-risk junior and senior high school students, designed to help youths complete high school and become more informed about higher education and career options, and to increase the number of youths who enroll in and successfully complete academic high school curricular tracks. Project Success is designed to be implemented by community-based organizations in cooperation with junior high and middle schools serving students from the community organization's service area, and in collaboration with area colleges and universities where possible. Project Success is also designed to work cooperatively with local teachers, counselors and administrators.

The project is designed to recruit participants as seventh graders (or fifth and sixth graders in middle schools) and continue to work with these students throughout high school. Services are to be provided to a core group of 30 to 60 Hispanic seventh graders the first year, depending upon the capacity of the local demonstration site. In addition, the project can provide other, less intensive activities for other Hispanic students.

Because decisions about curriculum choice are often made in an information vacuum, many Project Success activities are designed to increase information about educational and career options, and give students the skills to make their high aspirations become reality. Other activities are designed to increase students' awareness of a wide variety of careers, especially those which may be outside their range of experience, including non-traditional entrepreneurial and professional careers.

However, merely providing students with better information and raising their sights to plan for new careers overlooks the fact that many Hispanic students have serious academic deficits by the time they reach junior high school. National data indicate that 39.5% of Hispanic youngsters in junior high school or middle school grades are already enrolled below expected grade level. Since Project Success is designed to work with "at-risk" youth, most project participants will need additional assistance to improve their academic performance. These students typically need not only remedial assistance in one or more subject areas, but also help in "learning how to learn."

Toward that end, one of the most critical components of Project Success is providing students with assistance in setting and meeting goals. Each student in the core group is assigned a Project Success counselor to work with the student and his or her parents, teachers and counselors to assess academic strengths and weaknesses, set short- and long-range academic goals and an individual "success" plan to achieve those goals and explore individual career and educational interests. These goals may include: changes in study habits, more regular attendance at school, more active classroom participation, improvement in grades, or seeking additional help from teachers at school. Project Success counselors monitor student progress toward meeting these individual goals on a monthly basis via meetings or telephone conversations with the student.

Project Success offers academically-oriented seminars and special mini-courses on such topics as de-mystifying algebra (a pre-algebra seminar), research and study skills, and effective test-taking techniques. Project Success also coordinates a tutorial resource bank, and recruits teachers, retired teachers, business persons and other community members to provide tutorial services to project students. Other Project Success activities may include "job shadowing" and internships to help students learn more about careers of interest, and visits to local colleges and universities. Some Project Success sites use the Time to Read program, developed by Time, Inc., in conjunction with their volunteer banks as a reading improvement component of the program.

Parent participation is a central project goal, and is demonstrated both via parent participation in the scheduled parent seminars and by parents providing their children with academic reinforcement and monitoring at home. Because many parents of project participants have limited formal education, they often have difficulty in playing an active role in their children's education. Parent seminars seek to familiarize parents with school requirements and the outcomes of curricular tracking, and teahc ways in which parents can help their children "learn to learn" by reinforcing good time management, encouraging reading, and setting household rules for homework. The project also seeks to familiarize parents with their children's very real opportunities for college attendance, and helps provide motivation and support for participating youth.

Each Project Success site is to be staffed by a full-time project coordinator, one or more part-time counselors, and one or more part-time teachers or special tutors. Core project staff are to be bilingual and biliterate. Consultants may be identified or hired for special seminars or mini-courses. However, the project is designed to identify, coordinate, and tap existing and potential community resources, including local members of the business community, members of business and professional clubs and associations, local school, college and university resource persons, parents, and members of other community institutions. Thus, the project coordinator must serve as a community "bridge builder."

C Project Second Chance

Project Second Chance is a community-based educational program which provides Hispanic dropouts with a second opportunity to complete a high school education. While students drop out of high school for a variety of reasons, research has shown that many students who leave without diplomas report that they have few close relationships with caring adults at school. A large proportion report leaving because they have come to the conclusion -- often based on repeated school failure and low reading levels -- that "school is not for me." A significant number also leave school because they have other problems (especially teenage pregnancy, parenting responsibilities or substance-abuse problems). These situations require special counseling and support services which are often unavailable in public high schools.

Project Second Chance is designed to address many dropouts' needs for counseling and support services to deal with special problems and responsibilities, provide closer relationships with caring adults, and academic instruction to help students gain the skills and confidence needed to succeed in school. Project Second Chance programs concentrate on providing students with three types of assistance:

- Academic instruction so that students may receive high school diplomas or GED certificates through the program, or instruction to help them "catch up" to return to high school;

- Opportunities to learn about and explore different careers and professions, and counseling to become aware of the planning and steps which must be taken in high school to enter the chosen field; and

- Assistance in developing the personal skills which will help students succeed in school, in the world of work and in their families.

In states where private, non-profit educational programs can be licensed or certified by the state to provide diplomas, Project Second Chance sites should endeavor to secure such status so that graduates of their educational programs may earn high school diplomas. Where appropriate, the project may also assist participating students -- especially younger dropouts -- to return to the public school system and complete an academic program leading to a diploma. For those students who do re-enter the public school, Project Second Chance may continue to provide counseling, supportive and tutorial services to help students succeed.

Instructional programs are based upon individual academic and language assessments, and use individual and small group counseling to set academic and career goals. Counselors provide students with the assistance and skills to evaluate their own progress and set new goals. Each student works with a counselor and their parents to develop an individual "success" plan which guides their work at Project Second Chance. Academic instruction may be provided via a combination of individually-paced curricula, special, intensive "mini-courses" in selected subjects, or other instructional strategies. Where individually-paced or computerized instruction is used, the project must take care to provide other opportunities for student-teacher interaction, discussion, and development of critical thinking and analytical skills. Some use of cooperative learning techniques is strongly encouraged. Some Project Second Chance sites use the Time to Read program, developed by Time, Inc. as a reading improvement component. This program may be implemented by staff or volunteer tutors who are part of the project's volunteer bank.

Part of the Project Second Chance model is the use of volunteers to form a volunteer bank. Projects are encouraged to recruit volunteers from a wide cross-section of the community, and include individuals from a variety of career backgrounds. The volunteer bank may be used to provide additional, individualized tutoring to selected students, to pair students up with other "mentors" from the community, and/or to help students learn about careers. When the volunteer bank is used for career education, individuals are asked to make presentations about their careers and otherwise work with one or more students who are interested in that profession. This assistance may take the form of inviting students to their workplace to "shadow" the volunteer and observe his or her job first hand, providing tours, internships, summer or afterschool jobs, keeping in periodic touch with the student(s) to check on their school progress or help with subjects related to the field of interest, etc.

Project Second Chance may be operated as a component of an employment and training program, or as an independent educational program. It may also be appropriately used for an alternative high school setting serving dropouts or high risk youth.

D. Parents as Partners

While there is strong evidence that children whose parents are active partners in their education have higher educational outcomes than children whose parents assume a passive role, Hispanic parents often have great difficulty in being effective educational partners. High rates of English illiteracy among Hispanic adults tremendously limit their ability to help their own children learn to read, or to assess the quality of education that their children are receiving.

Additionally, at least half of Hispanic adults have had unsuccessful school experiences and often lack the skills to teach their children how to succeed in school. Unfortunately, few schools attempt to provide meaningful parent education which encompasses instruction in English language skills. Adult education programs are chronically underfunded relative to demand, and school-based parent involvement efforts too often focus on simply "encouraging" parents to become involved rather that "enabling" them to do so. Additionally, many activities which are labeled as "parent involvement" define such involvement rather narrowly, in terms of attendance at school advisory meetings or volunteering in classrooms. There is a tremendous need for comprehensive training programs which provide parents with an array of skills -- including English language skills where necessary -- to be effective partners in education.

The Parents as Partners project is designed to be operated either as a free-standing project, or as a component of another school or community-based educational program (such as the Academia del Pueblo, Project Success or Project Second Chance). Its purpose is to increase the effectiveness of parents as active partners by providing them with additional information about the schools and improved skills in effective parenting. The project builds and strengthens a three-way partnership among parents, the schools their children attend, and the greater community.

Each local Parents as Partners Project targets a particular school or schools and is staffed by a bilingual Program Coordinator responsible for program development and project monitoring. Training priorities are established by a project advisory network composed of participating parents, school personnel, representatives of the local business community and other community members. Where possible, programs establish linkages with universities and colleges to secure the assistance of experts in parent training, child development, techniques for teaching and learning at home, and family-life skills. Such a linkage also has the advantage of providing volunteer and internship opportunities for student teachers and practicums for other students working in relevant fields.

Three basic types of services may be offered, either alone or in confunction with each other:

- Training and follow-up assistance to help parents create a home environment which reinforces and expands children's learning;
- Training to help parents monitor their children's educational progress, become more effective participants on school advisory committees and better individual advocates for their children's educational rights, and for improvement of community schools; and
- Organization and support of a local Committee for Academic Excellence to provide a continuing forum for assessment and cooperative projects to improve educational opportunities in local schools.

Since parents are their children's first and most important teachers, the first type of project services is provided via a series of parent seminars and training sessions to improve effective parenting skills and help parents create a home environment which supports learning. Such seminars or mini-courses might include sessions on: child development and learning theory, language acquisition, effective parenting skills, effective discipline, communication and dispute resolution skills, and simple activities to reinforce reading or math skills at home. Seminars will be developed with input from participating parents and will draw upon available local resources. They will always be scheduled at a time which allows working and single parents to participate, and will include other relatives (grandparents, older siblings, etc.) who may have caretaker responsibilities. Project staff may be available to help parents design individual strategies or household rules, or to provide extra assistance in monitoring children's attendance and achievement at school.

In addition to teaching parents the skills to assist their individual children, the project may also elect to help parents increase their ability to understand and successfully interact with established school structures. Specific training priorities must be established by local communities based on needs assessments, but in most communities, training will need to be provided in understanding the structure and functions of advisory committees, school governance and finance, understanding school budgets, legal rights of children, and effective advocacy strategies. Where school-based training programs provide such training, Parents as Partners staff will help parents to take advantage of these opportunities and learn to pass these skills on to others.

Long-range improvement in the quality of schooling for local children is also an important goal of the Parents as Partners project, although not every community may be immediately ready to implement this component of the project. Parents as Partners projects may organize and staff a local Committee for Academic Excellence, which meets monthly and provides participants with the training necessary to monitor and analyze educational opportunities for neighborhood children. The Committee exists to monitor students and school performance, identify problems and solutions, advocate for appropriate policies and programs, and assist the school in improving educational outcomes. Parents as Partners staff function as trainers and support staff for the Committee. The Committee should also work with the schools to design and support programs for school improvement. Some examples of recommended collaboration include: sponsoring community fund raisers to purchase additional equipment or special materials or securing their donation from area businesses; organization, training and coordination of a "volunteer bank" as a resource for classroom teachers; assistance in translating materials into Spanish; and assistance in teacher in-service training, especially regarding parent involvement and information on the local community and the cultures of its residents.

Because some parents lack full proficiency in English, training activities in all three areas should be available in both Spanish and English, but Parents as Partners staff may also work with parents to help them improve English skills. In some communities, the project may initiate English classes for parents; in others, it may refer parents to other available public or private courses. Some agencies may be able to help provide parent scholarships for private literacy or English-as-a-Second-Language courses.

E. Teacher Support Network

The Teacher Support Network is a community-based project to recognize the efforts and increase the effectiveness of public school teachers -- Hispanic and non-Hispanic -- working with Hispanic children, by providing them with additional resources, support, assistance and training. The Network's goal is to improve teacher-community relations and enhance the quality of education available to Hispanic children by strengthening the skills and broadening the knowledge of their teachers.

The Network may be coordinated by one or more local Hispanic community-based organizations. A vital project component is an advisory committee which includes parents, community-members, local business persons and corporate representatives, school administrators, teacher trainers, teachers and representatives of the local teacher association(s). Subject to local needs and resources, the Network may serve the staff or one neighborhood school, several selected schools, key groups of teachers or counselors, or -- in small districts -- the entire district teaching staff.

Network activities start with an assessment of perceived teacher needs. With the cooperation of local school officials, teachers in the target schools are surveyed to determine what they believe would make their jobs easier and would make them more effective teachers. Teachers are also polled to gather information on their knowledge about the Hispanic community and culture, their attitudes and expectations for Hispanic students, and their level of experience and comfort in teaching linguistically and culturally different children. Information on teacher language skills, academic background and previous inservice training is also collected. Parents and community leaders are also consulted during the assessment process.

Based on assessed needs and the level of community resources, the Teacher Support Network may undertake a variety of programs and activities, including:

- A newsletter for teachers with information on the community, summaries of recent national research, training opportunities and available resources, and recognition for outstanding teacher activities;

- Coordination of volunteer banks to provide teachers with extra classroom tutors, special guest speakers, translators for parent meetings, or "room parents" to help with parent involvement;

- Organization of a career exploration volunteer bank for students of participating teachers, staffed by volunteers from local businesses who provide internship or job shadowing opportunities for students;

- Coordination of special inservice training sessions for teachers on topics of high interest. Workshops may be offered in conjunction with district inservice training, in cooperation with a local university or professional association, or independently;

- Special teacher recognition programs to reward outstanding teachers;

- Mini-grants to teachers wishing to implement special projects to improve instruction or expand the opportunities available to Hispanic students; and/or

- Spanish improvement classes for teachers.

Participating teachers are re-surveyed at the end of the project year to assess differences in attitudes or behaviors over the year. Individual Networks may also wish to obtain parent assessments and gather pre- and post-project information on student performance to determine whether there are visible differences in student attendance and achievement over the life of the project, or between Network teachers and those not participating in the Network.

III. Current Project Activities

The National Council of La Raza is actively working to demonstrate and evaluate the program models developed through the Innovative Education Project. As of August 1987, work is underway in the following areas.

Kansas City Missouri

Council affiliate the Guadalupe Center began its demonstration of the Academia del Pueblo and the Parents as Partners Project in the Spring of 1986. Funding for the Academia has been provided through two grants from the Gannett Foundation; funding the first-year demonstration of the Parents as Partners Project was provided by the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation. The parent project is being continued the second year as a component of the Academia del Pueblo.

The Guadalupe Center Academia served approximately 80 children in kindergarten through fourth grade last year, and has more than 120 children enrolled in this summer session. The project serves children from more than six local public and private schools, who are transported to the Academia by the Center and taken home at the end of the day. Children attend either the Monday-Wednesday or Tuesday-Thursday session and receive supplemental reading lessons (according to need) for two and a half hours per day. The Academia has a small core group of trained teachers and makes extensive use of Hispanic high school honor students as tutors for the program. Parent activities are held once a month.

The project has a gained a good local reputation. Parents, teachers and students all report that they view the Academia as a help to participating children. Principals refer more children than the Center can currently serve. It appears that the Center will be able to tap local funds to support the Academia in the years ahead.

The National Council has assisted with program and staff development, provided training, and monitored and evaluated the program. Data from the first-year evaluation are currently being analyzed and the final evaluation readied. The Council is also working with the Guadalupe Center to prepare a replication manual for other communities wishing to implement the Academia del Pueblo.

Referrals of junior high and senior high students to the Academia have prompted the Center to initiate a new program this summer for at-risk children in the higher grades. Through the Innovative Education Project, the Center received subgrants from Time, Inc. and the Xerox Corporation to implement a summer reading improvement program, Time to Read. The program, developed by

Time, Inc., is helping approximately 20 junior and senior high school students improve their reading skills. High school tutors and teachers work with the students both individually and in small groups to strengthen reading skills. The program will be continued in the fall as a component of a more comprehensive program for at-risk junior and senior high school students to be initiated with funding from the Job Training Partnership Act.

Rochester, New York

Project Success is being implemented in Rochester, New York by the Hispanic Studies Project of the Rochester City Schools, with the assistance of a local community-based organization, Puerto Rican Youth Development. Project Success grew out of an Hispanic Studies Project initiated several years ago to study the quality of education available to Hispanic students in the Rochester schools. The resulting report -- the AHORA Report -- outlined a variety of interventions which the Steering Committee responsible for the project recommended that the district implement.

In the process of implementing those recommendations, Hispanic Studies Project staff contacted the Council for information on the model projects. Council staff provided a briefing on Project Success and conducted some training in Rochester, and the district approved funding to demonstrate Project Success in Rochester.

The project, funded entirely by the school system, began this spring when two curriculum specialists were hired to develop a special curriculum for Project Success students, designed to help students meet the specific grade promotion criteria in Rochester. The project began delivering services this summer in Rochester with the assistance of Puerto Rican Youth Development (PRYD), which has enrolled Project Success students in its summer day camp to supplement the half-day academic program provided by Project Success. The summer curriculum is developed around weekly day-long field trips, and combined academic instruction with career exploration. For example, a trip to a market might yield lessons on economics, accounting, computerized management systems, and language arts activities related to the subject at hand. In addition, students study the whole spectrum of jobs and careers associated with the running of a retail food market.

The Council will be involved in project evaluation activities and in helping to document the Rochester project to facilitate replication.

Phoenix, Arizona

Council affiliate Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC) is working to demonstrate Project Success in Phoenix. This summer the project's reading component was initiated, using the Time to Read program developed by Time, Inc. The Council's Innovative Education Project was able to arrange the donation of the cost of the Time to Read program by Time, Inc. (approximately $12,000) and a grant of $5,000 from the Xerox Corporation to help CPLC initiate summer reading activities.

Comprehensive funding is being sought to implement the full Project Success this fall. The Project plans to serve 40 middle-school-age children from Silvestre Herrera School and provide them with supplemental instruction in reading, math and computer literacy, programs in career awareness, and seminars in personal development to help these youths make a successful transition to high school and increase their chances for success in college-preparatory curricular tracks. The program will also provide activities for parents.

Houston, Texas

In Houston, the Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans (AAMA), a long-time Council affiliate, is demonstrating Project Second Chance. This summer, AAMA received subgrants from the Council from Time, Inc. and Xerox to initiate the Time to Read program, which will continue in the fall as a reading improvement component of Project Second Chance.

Comprehensive fundraising is currently underway to allow the full implementation of this model by fall. The AAMA Project Second Chance will be implemented through its George I. Sanchez Junior Senior High School, a Texas-accredited institution authorized to award high school diplomas. Participating students in this program will be those who have either dropped out or been excluded from junior or senior high school, and who have a record of disciplinary and academic problems. The program will provide extensive academic instruction, computer literacy courses, career exploration, personal development seminars, counseling and family activities.

The Spanish Speaking Unity Council in Oakland, California has also received subgrants to initiate the Time to Read program this summer. The Unity Council is serving some 15 youths this summer through the program, and is also concentrating on developing a cadre of trained volunteers, drawn extensively from the corporate sector, who will agree to work with Unity Council youth projects over the year. These volunteers will be used to implement the Time to Read program and to provide career awareness activities and tutoring in other subjects.

The National Council of La Raza is currently working with the Unity Council to develop a comprehensive youth project to be implemented early next year. Some adaptation of Project Success or Project Second Chance is the most likely project.

Chicago, Illinois

The National Council is working with two Hispanic community-based organizations in Chicago to demonstrate model projects. El Hogar del Nino, a child-serving agency serving the primarily Mexican-American Pilsen-Little Village neighborhoods, will demonstrate Project Success. Association House, serving a primarily Puerto Rican neighborhood, will implement the Teacher Support Network.

Comprehensive fundraising is currently being done for both projects. If pending funding proposals are approved, project activities may begin in mid-fall.

Other Cities and States

The Council is working with Hispanic community-based organizations in several other cities to adapt the models to local needs and develop fundraising plans. A new group, the Northwest Council of La Raza, is working with the Project Success model and has a tentative commitment from the schools in Portland, Oregon to demonstrate the project this fall. Image Youth Services, Inc. in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas is also working on Project Success and is tailoring the model and identifying potential funders. The United Community Center in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is working with the Academia del Pueblo model to flesh out a local program. The Hispanic Women's Council in Los Angeles is studying the program models. It is very likely that we will begin actively fundraising for most of these programs this fall.

In addition, Council affiliates in a number of other cities have asked to demonstrate one or more of the models. Groups in the following cities have notified the Council of their desire to demonstrate models: Albuquerque, Boston, Denver, Detroit, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, North Platte Nebraska, Ogden, Utah, Phoenix, and San Diego. Statewide groups in California, Minnesota, New Mexico and Washington are also waiting for assistance. Enthusiasm for the Innovative Education Project is high and at times outstrips the ability of our small staff to respond, but these groups are all high priority and we hope to work with each later this year.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Preparing Students for Success at the Postsecondary level

Lester W. Jones
Xavier University

Shirley Thornton
California State Department of Education

Ed Apodaca
University of California

PROMISING PRACTICES

Educational Pathways that Promote Student Success at the Postsecondary Level

Lester W. Jones
Xavier University

I am going to talk about a program we have established at Xavier University in association with the high schools in our area. We believe that if there is to be any increase in the number of blacks in the professions -- in math, science, medicine, etc.-- there has to be a significant increase in the number of Blacks excelling in academics. The best approach for increasing the number of blacks in the professions is to view the process as an educational pathway. In our view, undergraduate colleges form a crucial link in this pathway. They must help students move along that pathway, and, in my view, they don't seem to be doing that.

Xavier University is located in New Orleans. It is small; it is Black. It is Catholic, and it has a Catholic heritage. Xavier has an arts and science college, a pharmacy college, and a graduate school of education. It only offers master degrees in education, no doctorates. We are predominately black, about ninety percent of our students are Black, About ten percent of our students are white, and most of them are enrolled in the College of Pharmacy, since it is the only College of Pharmacy in Southern Louisiana.

Xavier is a liberal arts school. We have a core curriculum of fifty-six hours that includes English, literature and foreign language requirements. We are very successful and we are very proud of it. We are number one in the nation in placing Black Americans in the pharmacy school. We are number two in the nation in placing blacks in the medical and dental schools. We placed thirty-six Black Americans in the medical and dental schools this past spring, and that was more than all the other colleges in the state of Louisiana combined.

One of the reasons we have done such a good job is because we have worked hard with the secondary schools on several ongoing projects. We sponsor a math/science olympiad that promotes excellence in the sciences, and we foster competitions in biology, chemistry, mathematics, and physics. About 1,200 junior and senior high students take part in these competitions. We are the only school in New Orleans that bothers to do that sort of thing.

Why? A few minutes ago I looked at all the posters on the walls that illustrate the glories of athletics at UCLA. I didn't see any posters about the glory of the students who excel at mathematics or chemistry. We don't put up posters for those students. If you are a Black student growing up in the ghetto of New Orleans, or even if you are a White student and you aren't growing up in the ghetto, you don't get your name in the paper if you are an excellent math student. You're just patted on the head by your teacher. The math/science olympiad is one of the things that we are trying to do to help those students get some recognition.

We also have a summer science academy, with programs called Math Star, Bio Star, Chem Star, and Project Soar. In Math Star we work with pre-ninth graders. We try to take good students, good black students who will be taking algebra in the ninth grade, and we try to make stars out of them. We should probably work with every Black student who is going to be taking algebra, but we can't. Our arms can reach just so far. So we take good students and try to make stars out of them. It is the stars who are going to become the medical doctors and the Ph.D.s in mathematics. Bio Star is a four-week program for pre-tenth graders. Chem Star and Project Soar are for upper level high school students.

Project Soar stresses analytical reasoning and has several components: biology, chemistry, physics, and math. It is a learning-by-doing activity that features verbal quantitative problems and vocabulary building. We have group competitions to motivate the students and help them to develop a peer support group. That is very necessary in college. Black students who have done well in the past succeeded because they were loners. They had to separate themselves from their society to become stars. Students need to learn that when they get into an environment like a college, they need to work with their peers. In our competitions, they cheer their groups on just like they would cheer a basketball team.

To develop these programs, we spend a lot of time working with schools. We work with the teachers and the teachers help us develop programs. These teachers have been very beneficial, telling us things that we never would have known because we haven't had their experiences. These programs were not developed by mathematicians and chemists existing in a vacuum.

These summer programs lead into other academic-year spinoffs. Two of them, developed jointly, are in engineering and biostatistics, and we are working with the local graduate and professional schools on a program in the computer science area. We also offer NCAT and GRE prep courses. Our Xavier faculty take these tests periodically, so we know what they contain.

On our campus we have a philosophy that we call "standards with sympathy." It is, simply, a coupling of high academic expectations with mechanisms that help our students succeed. To solve our problems in education, we have a common approach in our department, and it reaches across departmental lines. Our curriculum is standardized. The core courses for arts and sciences are pre-calculus, calculus, general chemistry, general biology, general physics, and organic chemistry. In those courses content is determined by each department, not by the individual instructor. Handbooks in pre-calculus, calculus, general biology, and chemistry force the instructors to teach what they are supposed to teach.

Objectives are written in math-teacher language, not education-teacher language. They don't go according to Bloom's taxonomy, but are written in words that my faculty can understand and that I can understand. They tell the teachers exactly what they are supposed to cover in a given week. We don't leave it up to the faculty members to pick out the problems they are going to work on in class. For example, when they teach objective No. 1, they turn to page 257 and work problems 5, 8, 11, and 13. We meet weekly and talk about how to present those problems, so we all agree on the same methods of working them. We do that because it helps us when the students get together. They don't argue with each other about the correct method.

In addition, we realized when we started this program four years ago that our students had to improve their vocabularies. Their vocabularies are weak, and it is one of the primary reasons for the trouble they have reading textbooks. Students in the basic sciences courses take a five minute quiz once a week on general, not scientific, vocabulary. The science faculty wrote 5,000 questions for a vocabulary question bank. Critical reading exercises have also been integrated into the science courses.

At Xavier we focus on exit criteria. We focus on where we want our students to be when they leave pre-calculus, where we want them to be when they leave calculus, where we want them to be when they leave the university. Not just where they are at any particular time, or how much they can possibly do in six weeks. The exit criteria we choose for our program are the entrance criteria for graduate and professional schools. We must set our curriculum standards at those entrance levels or we short-change our students. We cannot ask the Harvard medical school to take a student because he is a good kid, even though he doesn't satisfy their entrance criteria.

We have been working on this program for ten years. Its standardization has evolved; it didn't start out this way. The faculty have found that there are advantages in standardizing courses. It gives them a common foundation for upper level courses. The faculty who teach organic chemistry know every detail of what those students cover in general chemistry. It gives direction to new and part-time faculty; it makes their jobs easier. It makes our jobs as supervisory faculty easier, and it makes the departmental support system possible. The tutors we hire can tutor no matter what section of pre-calculus a student comes from.

To keep up, our faculty formed a support group, the science education research group, that meets weekly to discuss problems and develop programs. Members are the faculty from biology, chemistry, math, and physics. This nucleus is what keeps us going, and what has kept our programs going for the last ten years.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Teaching and Learning: Non-negotiable Components at the Postsecondary Level

Shirley Thornton
California State Department of Education

I am going to talk about effective secondary schools, particularly emphasizing the implementation process from my perspective as a high school principal at Balboa High School in San Francisco.

It is impossible to run a school that stays in compliance with the many federal, state and local rules and regulations and also make a difference with the kids. Many of us who are maverick principals ended up having success and being seen as stars because we were given schools that were meant to be failures. When we were given these schools it was with the understanding that we would not succeed. Instead, things began to happen, we began to have success, and no one could touch us. Our success was an aberration; it was not supposed to happen. A high school of color, a school filled with graffiti and all the other indicators of failure, is not supposed to be successful. When all of a sudden the school begins to turn around, people start to wonder how it happened.

I don't know what I learned about administration in college, I don't know what I learned about administration by taking on the job at Balboa. I did learn that if you use your resources, treat your staff people as humans, set high expectations for students and staff that are nonnegotiable, and then leave everything else open, it works. Being successful was a nonnegotiable goal. There was never a need to discuss that. Being successful was a matter of teachers and administrators together setting up the process to reach that goal.

As a high school principal in San Francisco, setting the process was very simple. First we looked at the data. Balboa was a school with 2,100 kids. The average grade point average was 1.6. There was a seventy to eighty percent transiency rate, and the school was filled with gangs, graffiti, smoking, and fighting. You name it and it was there. People would say, "That used to be a good school." Twenty years ago it was a good school. I attended that school; it was an Italian, Irish, Catholic school. Teachers who had taught during that time and were still teaching were waiting for San Francisco, and the school, to return to that mode. Many inner city teachers talk about the "good old days." What does that mean? Those teachers are really talking about and yearning for a different student population; they are passive bystanders, escaping responsibility, not active, responsible educators. Our teachers were not looking at the fact that they were not giving homework and were not setting high expectations for kids. They were going into the classroom and telling the kids, "When you are ready to learn, we are ready to teach you." How do you focus a staff that believes that kids can't learn?

First, the belief that all kids can learn and that all teachers can and must teach had to be adopted. Anything that got in the way of that understanding was not dealt with in a nice manner.
Next, we had to determine where, in a city like San Francisco, kids could go after they graduate, so we could pinpoint relevant goals. We looked at the labor market and types of available jobs in the city. We set that profile in place and then reviewed our school philosophy and goals to see if they were in synch with the world that these kids would be a part of if and when they graduated. We realized, of course, that they were not. Most of the kids that left our high schools went into unemployment. We took a look at data from the California Postsecondary Education Commission study. This study said that black and brown kids in California are not making it to our colleges and universities. Less than ten percent of these students are eligible for the University of California and California State University systems. Our students fit that profile. Our minority students weren't going to college, and the system we had to try to assure the quality of their education wasn't working.

We had a minimum proficiency exam that students had to pass to get a high school diploma. A kid would first take the exam in the ninth grade and then could take it twice a year for the following four years. We didn't have levels A and B, or forms A and B; the test did not change. By his senior year, because he has taken the exact same test so many times, that kid had it more or less memorized. He could even try the test one more time on graduation day. When a student passed the test, what was he passing? A test an eighth-grader could pass. The fact that we had minimum proficiency standards really didn't say anything--nor did it do anything for educational quality.

When we sat down with the teachers, we asked them what they thought it takes for students to be successful in San Francisco, or anyplace else. We heard the usual: They must be able to speak, they must be able to think, they must be able to read. Then we asked: Where in the course of the school day were these things operationalized? What do we do every day that assures that when a kid graduates, he will have the prerequisite skills to be successful?

To determine a course of action, we took our department chairs and our parent liaison workers, the critical mass of the school, to FarWest Lab for a week, and we brought in representatives from the California State Department of Education. We looked at our curriculum in relation to a nonnegotiable set of skills, the skills that are required on the College Board entrance exams (SAT) and the American College Testing program (ACT). Students who don't master these skills will not be successful. Everything we do as teachers is based on curriculum, so we looked at our curriculum in relationship to these skills. We saw that a discrepancy definitely existed.

We decided together that our goal for our students was that they go on to productive post-secondary experiences. We helped the teachers look at what had to happen at Balboa to make that happen for the students; we looked at the core skills that they needed to master. We decided what the indicators of achievement were--number of credits, required classes, what the student had to take at each grade level, whether a student passed the proficiencies--and agreed that these things would have to be followed for each student for four years before actually looking at what was going on with student achievement. The process enabled us to come up with a common vocabulary, and branching off from that, we were able to really understand what the nonnegotiable skills should be.

We discussed what we had to do to make necessary changes. We talked about conducting departmental reviews, and the department chairs said, "We cannot evaluate staff." Our response was, "We are not asking you to evaluate staff. We are asking you to evaluate the program." Others would say that collective bargaining would not allow teacher evaluation, but it does allow you to look at the program. It does allow you to figure out how to evaluate and critique your program.

Once we determined what we wanted to do and where we wanted to go, we could see what we needed to do to pull back into a common core. We looked at all of the research on effective schools and started applying those principles in our school. We set up a five-year plan. Teachers understood that we were not going to change everything at once.

What did it do for Balboa? In 1980, less than seven percent of our kids went on to college, or a technical school, and few got jobs. Of the class we started working with as ninth graders, seventy-five percent either went to college or went to a trade school.

How did we do that? We collaborated with San Francisco City College, working with them on campus, and we brought in a bridging program from San Francisco State. We sent staff to schools where positive things were happening. The people who had been saying "It can't happen here" came back saying "Why isn't it happening here?" We showed our staff how the programs made a difference.

As an administrator, it's my job to get consultants if they are needed. If the school needs more support from downtown, it is my job to get that. However, even if we need those things, we will not lower our level of expectancy because we don't have them. We will not expect less; we figure out how to expect more.

As educators, we have to look at what we are doing to get kids to think. Gifted students go one place, bilingual kids go someplace else, and special ed kids go yet another place. The classroom teacher says, "I'll teach whoever is left, I'll teach the regular students," and he doesn't have to deal with any of the special students. So, we don't end up with the model we want, a model where there is only one way to academic success. Algebra is algebra. Algebra is the first in the series of math courses for kids. Don't give them remedial math or business math or survival math. They need algebra. These programs are supposed to be the "how," the practical application. Instead, we make them separate courses, and separate the students.

It is not surprising that at-risk kids are labeled defective. They are pulled out of the mainstream, and then all the data shows that they can't learn. Here is an analogy: Put your arm in a cast for five years. Take it out of the cast and try to catch a ball. That arm is not going to work. It's atrophied, the joint is probably frozen. There was nothing wrong with that arm when it was put in the cast. We are allowing our kids to be placed in categorical programs, and then we are not demanding that these programs do what they are supposed to do. They are supposed to teach the same principles; the categorical program is supposed to be the "how," not the end. As principals, as central office staff, as support staff, the only thing we have to do is to make sure that all students are getting what they need to learn.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Dividends Derived from Structured Intervention at the Postsecondary Level

Ed C. Apodaca
University of California

For generations public schools have represented America's investment in the future. Education has traditionally served as the primary route for social and economic advancement, providing vitality, opportunities, and strength to our society. When offered in an academic environment which combines quality and diversity, education can contribute greatly to individuals' intellectual, personal, and financial betterment and can develop greater understanding and cohesiveness among the different segments of our society.

For a variety of reasons, our educational structure is not currently providing these advantages to large segments of our population. Almost half of the American Indian, Black, and Hispanic students fail to receive a high school diploma, and of those who graduate from high school, many are poorly prepared and have limited educational or employment choices. In today's competitive, high-technology world, the need for a good education is greater than ever. In order to remain competitive in the world market, our society must raise the level of educational achievement of all our young people.

Drop out rates are at an all-time high, and minority children and children from low-income families are leaving schools in alarming numbers. As of 1980, three times as many high school-age youth in California from families earning under $10,000 a year were not attending school as were those from families earning $50,000 or more. As is true in most states, in California, Blacks and Hispanics make up a disproportionately large percentage of the poor and of the drop-outs.

Harold L. Hodgkinson, a senior fellow of the American Council on Education described this educational problem as follows: "High school drop-outs," he says, "have a rather typical profile. They are usually from low-income or poverty settings, often from a minority group (although not often Asian-American), have very low basic academic skills, especially reading and math, have parents who are not high school graduates and who are generally uninterested in the child's progress in school, and do not provide a support system for academic progress. English is often not the major language spoken in the home, and many are children of single parents."

Not only do underprepared students result in a great loss of human potential but their underachievement will also have serious negative consequences for the future of the economy and for the overall well-being of the state. California's minority population is increasing rapidly. Current projections indicate that by the year 2000, ethnic minorities will account for over half of the state population. Furthermore, in California the school-age minority population is growing at a faster rate than the general population, because of higher birth rates and greater immigration into California of young minority families. Of the approximately 4 million students now attending California's schools, more than 44% are ethnic minorities. In 1981, 26% of K-12 enrollments were Hispanic, 10% were Black, 5.5% were Asian, and .8% were American Indian.

For years, the University of California has maintained structured efforts to increase the enrollment of minority and low-income students. The University values the intellectual and cultural contributions of a diverse student population and has allocated special resources for programs designed to identify, prepare, and recruit underrepresented students. Significant gains have been made over the last twenty years in the enrollment of women and ethnic minority students. While some ethnic groups still remain under-represented, existing efforts appear to be working and annual enrollment increases are being reported. The ethnic groups currently identified as underrepresented at the University of California are Blacks, Chicanos, Latinos, and American Indians. As a basis for determining "under-representation," the University uses California high school graduates as a comparison group.

The University of California admissions procedures are designed to select for each of its campuses the best qualified yet diverse student body possible. The extent to which it achieves this goal affects every student enrolled in the University, for diversity of students and faculty is essential in shaping the quality of an educational experience. Those admitted to the University undergraduate programs are chosen, as mandated by the Master Plan for Higher Education, from among students in the top one-eighth of the state's graduating class. Beyond the basic standard of academic excellence, the University strives to select individuals whose special qualities and experiences contribute to the educational environment of the campuses. Students applying for admission as freshmen must have completed a minimum of sixteen units in specified academic/college preparatory courses with at least a 3.3 grade point average (students with 3.3 - 2.77 GPA can become eligible if they achieve specified composite test scores). The courses required by the University include four years of college preparatory English, three years of advanced mathematics, two years of foreign language, one year of U.S. history, one year of laboratory science and four years of college preparatory electives.

A study by the University of barriers which affect enrollment and academic success of underrepresented students isolated three major problems in the academic preparation of junior and senior high school students:

1. Many students had difficulty with the algebra/geometry series required for admission to the University as well as with preparatory courses necessary to enroll in these classes.

2. Students had insufficient preparation for science and English course work and lacked the academic background required to undertake college preparatory courses in these disciplines.

3. There was also a need for increased parental and student awareness regarding the nature of and the opportunities available for education. Taken together, these factors contributed greatly to the disproportionately low rates of college eligibility for minority students.

A California Postsecondary Education Commission (CPEC) eligibility study of 1983 high school graduates found that a primary barrier to participation of minority students in postsecondary education is the disproportionately low rate at which these students attain University of California and California State University eligibility. The average eligibility rates of California public high school graduates was 13.2% and by major ethnic groups was: Asians, 26.9%; Blacks, 3.6%; Hispanics, 4.9%; and whites, 15.5%. In 1983, there were 23,288 black and 46,081 Hispanic high school graduates in California, of which only 3,096 (838 black and 2,258 Hispanic) graduates were eligible to attend the University of California. They represented 2.5% and 6.7% respectively of the total eligible pool, while Asians represented 12.4% and Whites 75.3%.

In addition, the study indicated that a large number of minority students who were eligible to attend the University (approximately 60%) did not take the aptitude and achievement tests required by the University and most other four-year educational institutions. This brought into question the assumption that most qualified black, Hispanic, and American Indian students were highly recruited and were attending prestigious four-year institutions. A new eligibility study is being conducted of 1986 high school graduates, and efforts will be made to survey students who met eligibility requirements but did not report taking the prerequisite college placement tests necessary for admission.

The initial efforts of the Early Outreach program focused primarily on identification and recruitment of minority youth. It quickly became apparent, however, that the success of this strategy was limited by the high drop-out rate of minorities and the low rate at which minority high school graduates were achieving academic eligibility for the University.

After a thorough study of the attributes of students who achieved eligibility, the University determined that a strong program of academic and motivational intervention was needed, beginning at the junior high level. With funding from the state legislature, the University initiated the Early Outreach Program. The Program consists of two components: Junior High School and Senior High School. The former commenced in 1976 and the latter in 1978. These programs provide a "pipeline" to the recruitment and admissions programs of the University, the California State University, and California independent postsecondary institutions.

The University of California'a Early Outreach Program is designed to address the problem of eligibility by assisting students to prepare for college level work. The Program helps students to achieve a level of academic preparation that will increase their options for enrollment in any postsecondary institution -- including the University of California. The Early Outreach Program addresses the above problems by focusing its activities on five critical factors which affect student attitudes and achievement: (1) aspirations toward higher education; (2) information necessary to prepare for postsecondary studies; (3) instructional and tutorial assistance in required college preparatory course work; (4) motivation to achieve the required level of performance in the course work; (5) academic and non-academic support from parents, school personnel, and peers necessary to pursue and successfully complete college preparatory course work.

To bring about the desired changes in student attitudes and achievements, the Early Outreach Program provides a wide range of educational services, including the following:

1. Academic Advising. These sessions provide participants with information on: (a) what classes and performance levels will help them to meet the eligibility requirements of the University of California and of other postsecondary institutions; (b) the appropriate sequence in which they should take their courses; and (c) how to prepare for college admissions tests. The focus of these sessions is academic program planning, related high school work and entrance examinations.

2. Tutorial and Learning Skills Services. These services furnish students with tutorial assistance necessary to master the concepts in their college preparatory courses, especially those in mathematics, science, and English. Frequently these services entail learning skills modules designed to improve a student's proficiency in note-taking, asking questions, reading, studying, test-taking, and other skills.

3. College and Career Counseling. This service gives participants information on college admissions procedures

and examinations; career choices; financial aid and scholarship programs, housing, postsecondary institutions of interest; college life; and the benefits of higher education. Vocational testing and seminars on specific career fields are also provided.

4. Parent Meetings. These gatherings introduce students and their parents to a wide array of information vital to college preparation and career planning. Meetings with parents are conveniently scheduled in familiar community settings.

5. Campus tours. Such outings enable participants and their parents to tour local college or university campuses of interest. Frequently they include: (a) a campus tour of specific academic programs, services, and physical facilities; (b) department presentatons; and (c) lectures on the history, traditions, and goals of the visited campus.

6. Summer Programs. These programs are designed to place students in an academic setting where they may obtain: (a) instruction which sharpen those reading, writing, mathematics, and study skills needed for academic success at the host campus; (b) social transition into college; (c) orientation to campus resources; (d) proper incentives for using academic support services throughout their freshman year; (e) assistance in identifying a support system on which they can rely while they negotiate the complexities of University life; and (f) a realistic expectation of the academic requirements of their career choices and of the University. Depending on the host campus, participants are provided room and board. Frequently, they are also provided with work experience for which they are paid a stipend.

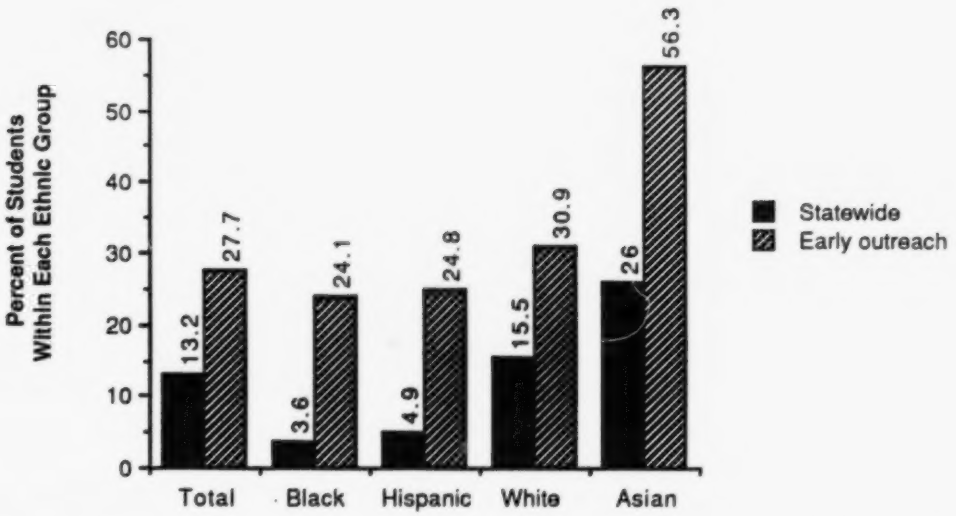
At the junior high school level, the goal of the Early Outreach Program is to increase the number of minority and low-income students who aspire to attend postsecondary educational institutions. At the senior high school level, the goals of the Early Outreach Program are: to encourage minority and low-income students to enroll in and successfully complete a college preparatory program, and to increase the number of participants who become eligible for admission to the University of California. The senior high school component of Early Outreach assists students who were junior high school participants and other underrepresented and low-income students who attend targeted schools.

Results of Early Outreach Programs

The Early Outreach Program served 34,764 students, 505 junior and senior schools, during the 1985-86 year. In 1986, high school graduates who participated in the Early Outreach Program achieved University of California eligibility at a rate of 27.7%, compared with 13.2% general statewide eligibility rate. Each group of Early Outreach participants, when designated by ethnicity, achieved eligibility at a considerably higher rate than their counterparts statewide (see figure 1).

Figure 1

Comparison Between 1983 California Postsecondary Education Commission Eligibility Study and 1986 Eligibility Rates for University of California Early Outreach Graduates



Each of the University of California campuses has an Early Outreach Program which serves the junior and senior high schools in their surrounding communities. Universitywide, 2,187 (84%) of the Early Outreach graduates in 1986 enrolled in a college or university. Forty-five percent of the graduating class enrolled in the University of California or in the California State University system. An additional 11.3% enrolled in other four-year institutions. This is much greater than the general statewide college-going rate (16.6%) reported by the California Postsecondary Education Commission for students enrolling in the University of California and California State University.

Early Outreach Program Model

The partnership among the schools sites, the student participants, and the Early Outreach Program includes a formal service agreement which details the responsibilities and requirements for participation as well as the services to be delivered.

A. Services Provided

The selected schools receive services from the University of California campuses with emphasis on identifying and assisting students who show interest and potential to succeed in higher education. The following services form the foundation upon which additional services can be added. The services provided include:

1. academic advising,
2. role model presentations,
3. college and university visits,
4. disseminaton of information, and
5. parent involvement

B. Selection of Sites

Target schools within each region are drawn from schools which have large representation of minority students and which in the past have not been successful in sending minority students to the University. The type of services offered each school varies according to its needs. The number of schools served within a region was determined by geographic distance from University campuses, and availability of resources to perform essential services. Selection of the target schools was based on: (1) willingness of school officials to participate (2) number of targeted students enrolled, (schools that serve targeted students "bussed in" as part of an integration program were included), (3) need for services offered, and (4) availability of resources.

C. Selecton of Participants

The Early Outreach model is based on the belief that services in the seventh grade should be offered to as many students as possible. Thus, selection of seventh grade students is relatively unrestricted; within the participating schools, all underrepresented minority and low-income students are invited to participate. Beginning with the eighth grade, there are certain expectations of participants including taking college preparatory courses.

D. Faculty and Parental Involvement

Faculty input and participation is sought in the development and implementation of the Early Outreach regional efforts. Linkages with existing student preparation efforts such as the California Writing Profect, the California Mathematics Project, and the University of California Irvine's Project STEP have been maintained and strengthened. The amount and types of services provided vary by area and are determined by the needs of the region and the resources available. Advisory Boards, with faculty and community involvement, are established to reflect the cooperative nature of the effort. They provide direction regarding the type of services to be offered in their regional area.

In order for the advisory boards to make knowledgeable decisions, evaluation of program methods and accomplishments are available at regular intervals. Since the regional efforts also involve new school sites, baseline data have been gathered to assess the effects of the program.

E. Intersegmental and Related Program Involvement

Of equal importance to effective coordination and to the cooperative efforts with the junior and senior high schools is the ability of the Program to work well with other college outreach efforts. By sharing the mission of preparing underrepresented minority and low-income students for postsecondary educational opportunities, services can be more comprehensive and complementary.

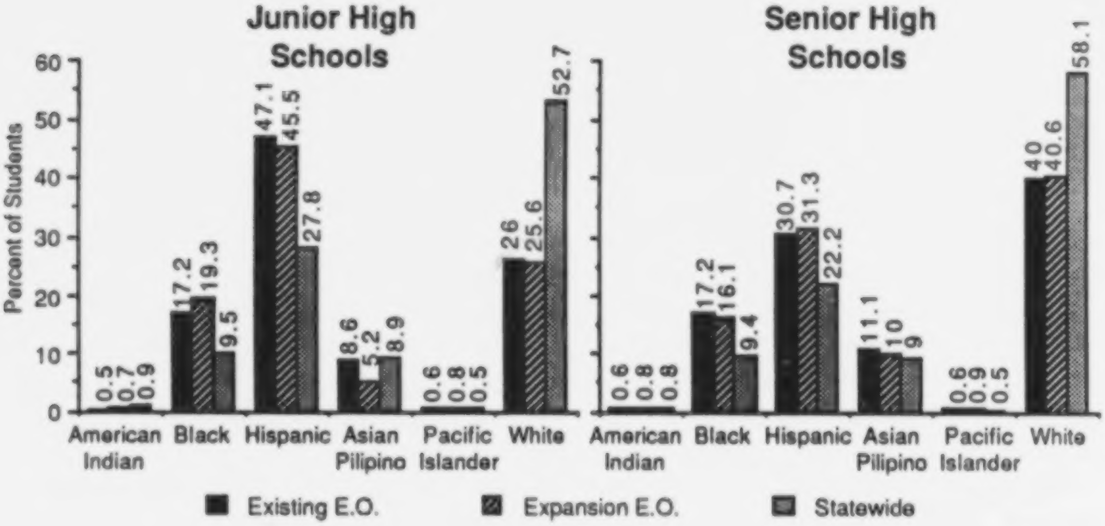
The University has begun collaboration efforts with representatives from the California State University, the California Community College, the State Department of Education, MESA, Cal

SOAP, Upward Bound, and the California Academic Partnership Program. Both the University of California and the California State University are funded to support early outreach efforts and have programs which coordinates efforts.

In light of the many junior high and senior high schools which are currently not served, the segments work together in order to expand their efforts and to avoid duplication of services when working the same schools. Periodic meetings among the segments are held to share information, ideas and resources needed for college nights, field trips, parent visits, and disseminaton of information.

During the 1985-86 academic year, the Early Outreach Program served 273 high schools and 185 junior high schools located in 25 counties. In fall 1986, the Early Outreach Program expanded, providing new or additional services to 48 high schools and 66 junior highs. The 1985-86 ethnic composition of Early Outreach schools is provided in figure 2. The proportion of underrepresented ethnic minority students in schools serviced by the Program is significantly greater than the statewide averages and of schools which traditionally send students to the University. While 32.4% of California's public high school students are underrepresented ethnic minorities (Asians are not included as underrepresented), they comprise 48.5% of the students enrolled in Early Outreach public high schools. Similarly, while underrepresented ethnic minorities constitute 38.0% of the junior high school students, their proportion in schools serviced by the Early Outreach Programs is 64.5%.

Figure 2
Ethnic Distribution of Schools in Early Outreach
(Existing and Expansion Programs) and
California Public Schools 1985-1986



For purposes of comparison, selected ranges of the Scholastic Aptitude Test mathematics (SATM) and verbal (SATV) scores for fall 1985 University of California freshmen were reviewed alongside those of students enrolled in Early Outreach high schools. A comparative analysis indicates that the average SATM score is 20.2% (114 points) and the average SATV scores 21.2% (106 points) below that of entering University of California freshmen.

Expansion of Early Outreach Efforts

The Early Outreach Program, as well as similar efforts conducted by the California State University, have been highly successful. However, the number of schools involved has been relatively few. Recognizing the magnitude of the eligibility problem for underrepresented minority students, the University has expanded its efforts to reach increased numbers of these students. With much of the Black and Hispanic population concentrated in urban areas of the State, regional centers were established in the Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay, and the San Diego areas. The Los Angeles area will be the focus of concentration, as more than 51% of the black and 43% of the Hispanic high school graduates in the State reside in this county.

The expansion of the Early Outreach Program into the three regions allows the University to work with schools which are presently unserved or underserved. With this expansion, 45 high schools and 66 junior high schools have been added to the Program and the number of participants is expected to increase by at least 16%. Each region will be serviced by more than one compus which should add to the overall support and success of Early Outreach efforts.

Since its inception in 1976, the Early Outreach Program has undergone a number of changes. Initially the emphasis of Early Outreach was on enrolling underrepresented ethnic minority students in postsecondary institutions. Later, the goals were changed to include low-income students to prepare for and apply to four-year institutions. This change was important, given the fact that 85% of the black and Hispanic students attending college were enrolled at two-year institutions and were not transferring into baccalaureate programs. in 1986-87 the following goals were established:

a. at least 75% of the program participants are to be from underrepresented ethnic groups,

b. at least 70% of all students served by the program are to be enrolled in at least four A-F courses per semester beginning in the 10th grade,

c. at least 50% of all students participating are to have cumulative GPA's of at least 2.5 in grades 7-9, and cumulative GPA's of at least 2.7 in grades 10-12,

d. at least 35% of the program graduates are to be UC eligible, and

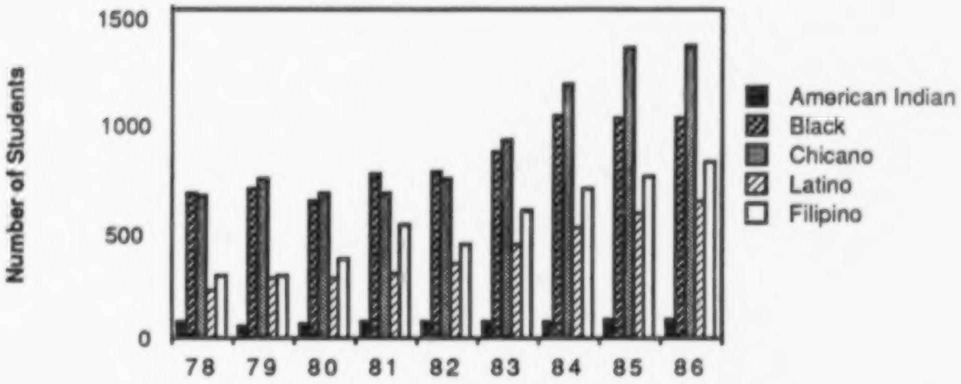
e. at least 55% of the program graduates are to attend four-year colleges.

Conclusion

Within the scope of the programs, the University of California Early Outreach efforts have been successful. As a result of structured student affirmative action efforts, such as those provided by the Early Outreach Program, the number of eligible entering underrepresented students has increased annually (see figure 3).

Figure 3

University of California Enrollment Data
First-Time Freshman, California Resident Minority Groups
Fall Terms 1978 through 1986



Expansion of efforts such as the Early Outreach program are needed to serve the broader population of underachieving students. It is apparent that the educational, occupational and social problems confronting minority and low-income youths will continue to increase if not corrected. Given the current lack of adequate resources and the growing as well as changing population mix, those problems which are common to such an environment will continue to be reflected in the schools and will directly affect their ability to educate students. It is extremely important that affirmative steps be taken to address existing problems and to put in place an educational system which is sensitive and effective in responding to a changing environment. The full participation of all students within the educational system is essential for assuring a better future. Cultural pluralism in schools is not only of educational value but is also important in developing a better understanding of ourselves and our society and encouraging greater tolerance of each other.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Helping Limited English Proficient Students Succeed

Jose Galvan
Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs
University of California, Los Angeles

Bonnie Rubio
Los Angeles Unified School District

Amado Padilla
Center for Language Education and Research
University of California, Los Angeles

PROMISING PRACTICES

Integrated Content Language Approach

Jose Galvan
Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs
University of California, Los Angeles

I am going to discuss the rationale for integrating content and language instruction, with particular reference to the school. It is my assumption that the integrated approach is appropriate, regardless of whether your educational programming emphasis is on the teaching of language or on the teaching of a specific subject content such as math or physical science. I feel that Limited English students who are at the intermediate level or beyond will benefit from these programs because their transitional progress will have the added advantage of a strong affective element. Interest in the language being used will likely rise dramatically, and, additionally, their progress in the subject matter of the course can continue even as their language is developing.

Let me begin by describing what I see as the changing nature of education for the Limited English student in the U.S. The advent of bilingual education in the late 60s brought with it a national movement to address the specific needs of the non-English speaking student and other previously disenfranchised language minorities. This was an extension of the attempt to fix the educational inequities that were pervasive before the Civil Rights Act of 1968, and a result of the separate but equal mentality that had prevailed previous to its passage. The major focus of the movement was the development of both first and second languages. It was the motivation for the bilingual education programs that sought to address the needs of linguistic minority youngsters, and for the few programs that attempted to provide Black children access to standard English.

The preponderance of bilingual education programs were supported by funds outside of the local school district. This suggests that educational planners viewed the needs of the students for whom these programs were patterned as outside the basic core curriculum; language instruction was handled as remediation. Thus, the needs of the non-English speaking student were not immediately institutionalized. There was also minimal communication between the language specialist, the teacher responsible for English literacy training, and the content teacher.

Things are very different in the 80s. While educational equity for language minority youngsters is very much a national priority, the manner of addressing these needs has shifted from an educational policy based on an affirmation of a pluralistic, language-diverse American populace, to one which is focused on mainstream education and driven by a push toward assimilation.

The 80s have seen a movement toward increased state and local autonomy in education. The Federal Department of Education relinquished to the states and local school systems its responsibility for addressing the needs of language minority students, a direct reflection of the priorities of the executive branch. The Congress and the judicial branch have also acted in favor of less federal direction in addressing language minority issues. There is an increased emphasis on basic skills and literacy for teachers and students. As we are well aware, several states have invoked minimum competency tests in these areas for both teachers and high school graduates. Mathematics and language arts skills are periodically assessed at designated grade levels on a state-wide basis in many parts of the country, which is a move toward greater accountability. And concordant with this back-to-basics movement is the push toward quicker mainstreaming of language minority children.

I believe traditional mainstream content instruction is inappropriate for language minority children. Although there is a trend toward process teaching that makes use of hands-on activities and a greater awareness of the student`s cognitive functioning and development, in most cases traditional content instruction may still be characterized as consisting of a teacher-centered lecture format. Here the emphasis is on the textbook as a primary source of content and on summative evaluation through paper and pencil tests. These features of the traditional mainstream content classroom assume a student population that is fully proficient in the language of instruction. They assume that the students are at or close to grade level in basic literacy skills and that they have mastered a full range of requisite concepts and vocabulary, including items normally associated with the informal registers of the home and playground.

Under the best of circumstances, a second-language speaking student cannot be expected to possess the same linguistic competence as students who have had continuous English language development from birth. In fact, this juncture between the language and literacy assumptions of the mainstream programs and the actual reality for language minority students is evident in several ways.

First, other than the language itself, the typical academic lecture provides a minimum of clues to help the student derive meaning and, therefore, understand the content. Second, language minority students can be expected to achieve various degrees of literacy in English. In most cases, these students are not able to read on, or near, their grade level, so it is unlikely that they will be able to extract the main points of the subject matter. Finally, because the ability to write cogencies and lucid interpretations of content material is one of the principle educational objectives in school, the evaluation techniques that prematurely place an emphasis on writing skills may not fully enable the language minority students to demonstrate their knowledge of content material.

The convergence of research from second language acquisition and education supports an integrated content language approach. Recent advances in language acquisition theory have facilitated an understanding of the processes involved in second language acquisition. We now understand, more clearly than ever, that language is acquired through meaningful communication in a variety of naturalistic settings. We know that in both first and second language acquisition, a key appears to be how well the linguistic input is received. Thus, language development is dependent, to a large degree, on the extent to which the linguistic input results in a genuine exchange of information and on the extent to which the input corresponds to the learner's developing linguistic abilities. Researchers in Canada and the U.S. have demonstrated that a second language can be acquired successfully simply by making content instruction meaningful for non-native speakers of the language. Subject matter teaching, when it is comprehensible, is language teaching.

Even though the trend in U.S. public schools appears to be toward a focus on student achievement in the cognitively demanding subject areas, the challenge for American schools is to provide access to higher level subject matter for our ever increasing number of students with special needs. These students include newly arrived immigrants and our already linguistically diverse student population, both of whom exhibit a lack of language and literacy in English.

Why have we become so concerned with this issue at this point in time? There are at least two answers to that question. The first is that we in California have come to realize that some dramatic shifts in demographics are just around the corner. For the past couple of decades, we have noted the steadily increasing numbers of language minority students entering the educational setting. That pattern is predicted to continue in the foreseeable future. Another pattern is a trend toward more heterogeneous student populations in our schools. While there are many population areas in our state that continue to reflect a clustering of ethnically and linguistically homogeneous people, the demographic trends indicate that we can expect more mixing in our student populations. Furthermore, we can expect more newly arrived immigrants that represent diverse language groups, and they will not be arriving in large enough numbers to warrant special programs. Finally, the immigration pattern suggests that the language minority students will begin to exhibit a wider range of backgrounds in education and socioeconomic status. In fact, there is already ample evidence of these trends in our schools.

When you consider that in the 21st century in California some eighty to ninety percent of the language minority student population will be either Latin American or Asian, it's clear that it is only a matter of time before they begin to wield an increasing political power. We will also see a broader range of mobility expectations than has ever been evident before. All of these factors present a strong image of change.

We now feel that we are able to make a significant difference in the education of these populations. Educational planners must be concerned with the fact that traditional approaches to providing academic content may be inappropriate for increasing segments of the school population. In fact, in some urban settings, the traditional instruction may be less than optimal for a majoity of the students. Thus, content instruction will have to be modified to meet the linguistic and academic needs of these new students.

PROMISING PRACTICES

The Eastman Success Story for Helping Limited English Proficient Students Succeed

Bonnie Rubio
Los Angeles Unified School District

I am here today to talk about the Eastman Curriculum Design Project. In 1981, five case-study schools were funded under the California Department of Education. I will share a little bit about what is now going on in the Los Angeles Unified School District as a result of that initial project.

The basic philosophy of bilingual education was put together by the State Department. They put together a curriculum design that reflected all the latest information, research and theory. The purpose of the case-study schools was to take theory and put it into practice with real live children and in all kinds of varying conditions. Eastman Elementary, a school with 1,800 students located in the heart of Los Angeles, was identified as one of those case-study schools. I was then the principal of that school.

I was principal from 1980 to 1985. In 1985, I was pulled out of that position by the Los Angeles School district, and was assigned as an administrator, put in charge of replicating the changes that occured at Eastman Elementary in seven other schools. The Los Angeles School District, which has been very supportive and is currently supportive of bilingual education, funded my position and those of several consultants to change the world in these seven schools. We are now in the process of implementing change for about 10,000 students in Los Angeles Unified. The schools are located throughout the district, all the way from San Pedro into the San Fernando Valley.

Our philosophy centers on language separation. Traditionally there has been a concurrent approach to instruction in bilingual education that requires on-going translation. We are implementing language separation because we feel it is much more effective. It is an effective use of the resources as well as a more effective use of time during the school day. There is no translation. Subject material is either in English or in Spanish. English is either sheltered English, a version that is modified to make it more understandable, or mainstream English. All training is directed by that approach, as is the transfer of skills, so that the higher level skills transfer and are consistent throughout the design.

One of the main goals of the project is high-level oral fluency in English. Academic achievement is another target area, self image another. Obviously, if a student does not feel good about himself in school he is not going to do too well, and that affects the academic achievement.

As we structured and began to implement the theory and the curriculum design, we found that we were able to put together a program that was good for all the children in the school, not just the Limited English Proficient children. Over a five-year period, those efforts resulted in most students graduating from elementary school at grade level, at the fiftieth percentile, although eighty to ninety percent of the students who had entered school had started kindergarten as Spanish-speaking. These achievement results began to be noticed throughout the East Los Angeles community. The change was gradual; it was not magic. The achievement was the result of teacher training and good-quality, consistent programs.

Sometimes people are not sure what causes positive change; I feel there are a few key components. One is the school organization. As you begin to implement any project or any program, there needs to be a consistent, school-wide organization so teachers will know what the program is, and so the articulation between grade levels is clear. The teachers need to know what is expected of them and they need to get the training to support the program that will be implemented in the classroom.

Our goal was to have a quality program and an equal educational opportunity for both English and Spanish classes. We ended up with English classrooms, Spanish classrooms, and a portion of the day when students were mixed together and all were taught in English. The teachers were teamed and departmentalized so the monolingual teachers could teach a classroom in English, bilingual teachers could teach in Spanish, and both had responsibility for limited English and English only during art, music, and P.E. Another important concern was the issue of oral language development for all of the students, not just the LEP students. All of the students, including the English-only students, needed that opportunity to address the development of better oral English skills.

Scheduling was another key area. People have a tendency to focus on the basics. We wanted children to have the opportunity to apply skills. We didn't want them to learn to read and then never get a chance to use their skills. Our interest was in providing a fully balanced curriculum regardless of the language. This occurs only when time is budgeted and each subject area is identified. Teachers, in some cases, had been teaching two hours of reading, maybe a little bit of ESL, some math, and some other things, but it was often inconsistent. We worked with them, implementing a pool for a balanced curriculum, and we were able to develop a good quality training process to help teachers understand how to deliver a balanced curriculum. Many teachers had not taught music for a long time, or perhaps had skipped science because it was not an area of strength. So we did a great deal of teacher training to shore up skills in subject areas.

One of the important things that happened in the organization of this program was that we were able to take the credentialed bilingual teachers and concentrate them with the limited-English students, rather than using the traditional approach of one-third, two-thirds. Separating the languages required organization in a different manner. It ended up being a much more effective use of resources. We also took a look at the resources in the schools and how they were being utilized. When we first started two years ago, we found there was a very inconsistent use of resources in the existing programs of the seven replication schools. Sometimes teachers weren't even sure what support was available; sometimes it was unrelated to the basic program. Often the texts in use did not reflect the composition of the school. We found a school where children were learning to read in Spanish, and that was all they had to read. We went into a library in a school that had 1,000 LEP students, but only two shelves of Spanish library books. Those are the things you have to begin to look at.

The project's design places the limited-English child--usually Spanish speaking in California--in a program where the four academic subjects are taught in the primary language, and art, music, and P.E. are taught in English, using the natural approach. We go into a strong, consistent ESL program. Gradually we move into the sheltered English approach, shifting math first. The goal, obviously, is to move the entire curriculum into English, but we do not do it at the expense of academic development. We are not in a hurry, and that seems to pay off. Children who had gone through the program were actively involved in academic learning on grade level, not just sitting in the back of the room trying to figure out what was going on or trying to copy from somebody else. We also incorporated into the curriculum design a place for the native English-speaking child. All children in the school were assessed in English fluency. Monolingual teachers also became part of the total package. The structure proved to be quite effective, and the training the teachers received also proved to be effective.

Courses in the school were based on the student's primary language, his English-language fluency, and reading levels. Children were transitioning from primary language to sheltered English to mainstream English, over a period of years, at grade level. Often children transition at a pre-verbal level in English basal series because the criteria for transition is so low. As a result, students don't develop high level skills. They are cut off at the pass. This was happening to us in 1981, and the State Department helped us realize that some of the criteria we were using were too low.

In terms of replication, there are a number of programs that people are attempting that are based on the work that was done initially by the case study program. These schools are involving huge numbers of children, and the existing principals are getting the kind of training that it takes to be effective school leaders. After working two years with the seven schools in the replication attempt, we noticed a spread that was directly related to the quality of the instructional leadership of the principal on site. Most of us know that feeling when you walk into a school or onto a campus, when you know if there is a philosophy, you know if there is consistency, you know if teachers have high expectations. When we first walked into some of these schools, we could not find ESL. They said they had it, but it was very difficult to find.

The district has also funded an extensive evaluation design. We are taking a look at the factors that effect quality programs, such as teacher training, leadership expertise, teacher attitude, and administrative attitude. We are using parent and student surveys, and we are taking a look at the academic progress over time. We are finding in the original data that some of the teachers who were most satisfied with the old program of one-third, two-thirds structure and concurrent instruction were monolingual teachers, and that was surprising. Why would monolingual teachers be satisfied with having a bilingual class? We began to wonder if they were satisfied because they were not really responsible for those children. Perhaps the aides were doing the teaching; things like that happen in the classroom.

We have worked very closely with the seven replication schools. They are all operational, and the organization of their programs is based on what happened in the original Eastman design, the original program. We have worked very carefully to help the teachers change their attitudes, to raise their expectations, to get the administrators involved in instruction, to get them involved in the training, and to have teachers involved in curriculum committees. We believe student achievement has to go up because the quality of teaching is going up, and because the materials provided are going to reflect what is needed in the schools.

There is a great deal to be learned from the Eastman replication and its evaluation. We hope to create seven models that other schools in the district will be able to replicate as well. Los Angeles is currently interested in further expansion, and I am trying to convince them that one of the best ways to go is through administrative training. If we can really define these seven schools and use them as key models, we can then take them to those administrators that have the interest and the desire to improve the quality of their schools. We also offer administrative leaders the opportunity to do some training. That is what I hope I can do next year.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Helping Limited English Proficient Students Succeed

Amado Padilla
Center for Language Education and Research
University of California, Los Angeles

I am going to speak about helping the LEP student succeed, but I am going to take a different approach. I am going to present a model that reflects, I think, the kind of situation that really exists for LEP children. I'll do that from the standpoint of my own multidisciplinary interests: educational outcomes and how a child becomes bilingual. I have tried to bring together aspects of developmental and clinical psychology, anthropology, sociology, and education.

What are the consequences for the LEP child who will ultimately be a member of adult society, and what are the implications of those consequences for education? One of our concerns is how to reduce the large number of LEP students who are not succeeding as well as other students. The issue has become one of academic achievement. How do we get these kids through high school, how do we get them through college? How do we make successful educated people out of this population?

I am going to describe a model that approaches this problem from a different perspective. I am going to use what may be some new terminology, and I am going to make some assumptions. This model assumes that kids, like adults, have stressers in their lives, so I am going to approach this, in one sense, as a developmental psychologist.

The stress that LEP kids encounter is very different from the stress that kids generally have. Kids can encounter many kinds of stress: the death of a pet, the death of a parent, the death of a grandparent, moving from one community to another, changing schools, a new baby sitters, divorce. All are stressers. LEP kids are also affected by what we call culture stress, stress caused by being in an unfamiliar culture. Not knowing the language and not knowing the customs play a big part in culture stress. Much of the stress is also related to socioeconomic class. In our work, we try to understand this from the standpoint of LEP kids, and we try to structure a supportive environment that will reduce the stress due to culture, the stress due to class, and the stress due just to living. We now have a pretty good idea of what is going on in terms of defining and measuring stress.

Another part of the model incorporates external mediators. External mediators are the things in an adult's or a child's environment that serve to buffer the impact of stress. The school, parents, counselors, and peer group can be external mediators. Clubs and other kinds of activities can also offer social support to kids as they try to buffer stress. Internal mediators are another part of the model. Internal mediators are what goes on within a child, and the idea is to determine how stress impacts on the internal workings, the personal characteristics of the child.

Some of the kids that come from very high-risk backgrounds don't drop out of school. They do very well in school, they do very well in college, they go on to graduate or professional school, and they do very, very well. They are invulnerable. If we could understand that dynamic, if we could discover what makes these kids invulnerable, we might be able to get more kids to develop invulnerable personality characteristics.

Another very critical aspect is that of appraisal. The appraisal component is a cognitive component; it is how we think about our situation. A stresser is a stresser only when a situation is appraised as stressful. By using an appraisal measure you can determine whether a child or an adult views a particular situation which is typically called a stresser as, in fact, being stressful. People constantly appraise any situation that produces even a little stress. Even little kids go through this cognitive process, this method of evaluating their world. The outcome is a form of behavior that, for purposes of this model, we will call Kopian. The outcome of this process of stress, external mediators, appraisal, and internal mediators is a Kopian response. Kopian responses can be listed in at least three broad categories: direct action, when you appraise something as stressful and you take direct action to change the impact it has on you; indirect action; and, no action at all. You can see examples of all three types of responses everyday in the people around you and in yourself.

As we build programs that focus on language development, cognitive development, and skill building in the academic areas, we should also think about this very important internal dimension. We should consider what is going on in the heads of these kids. Data now suggests that the higher the stress level is for a kid, the lower his self-esteem is likely to be. The lower the self-esteem, the more the situation is appraised as stressful.

What is the outcome of internal processes? If a student appraises the learning environment to be highly stressful, he might leave school. The consequences might be short- or long-term, but we do know that people who do not complete their educations earn less, have less desirable jobs, and probably have a whole series of social problems throughout their lifetimes.

The point of thinking through this model is to determine what causes a student to drop out. What went wrong in the educational programming? Why didn't we build a student with the right kind of personal characteristics, a student with high self-esteem who can appraise a stressful situation in the proper way, make a proper judgement and act in an appropriate fashion?

We are trying to understand what it is in a kid's environment that leads him to appraise a situation in a certain way and what motivates him positively or negatively. We are trying to understand the schooling experience of an LEP child from a multi-disciplinary perspective and from a contextual interaction model.

In addition to educating children, do schools need to set up intervention programs that also work for the parents? If so, what are the problems that parents have, and are those problems causing the problems the kids are having? Parents who have a whole series of problems cannot effectively help their kids. Perhaps the parents don't have social support, perhaps they don't have access to resources. There may be a good program operating in the school, but if not enough is being done about the environmental stressers, the program cannot operate as well as it might.

With this model you can intervene at different points. You can build skills with teachers, with administrators, with parents, and with kids. You can show people how to be better social supporters and teach them to believe that what happens to them is due, in part, to their own abilities. You can teach concepts of vulnerability, you can teach better coping responses. You can end up with some better outcomes.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Improving Teacher Effectiveness

Twyla Stewart
Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs
University of California, Los Angeles

Charles Moody
University of Michigan

Ana Marie Schuhmann
Kean College

PROMISING PRACTICES

Improving Teacher Effectiveness

Twyla Stewart
Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs
University of California, Los Angeles

I am with the UCLA Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs. Our office was established in 1981 with the express purpose of developing programs that would improve the quality of preparation of students at UCLA. The focus of those programs was not on students, the focus was on working specifically with teachers to improve the quality of their knowledge, to update their skills, and to provide them with opportunities for collaboration. This model has evolved over the last six years, and it has taught us some very interesting things about how a teacher's role is conceived, and how that conception needs to change to allow for the kinds of improvement that not only minority children, but all children need in order to learn well in school settings.

This model also says some things about the kinds of changes that need to take place structurally within school organizations. Our program emphasizes a couple of basic things. First of all, we focus on helping teachers address the issues of content and concept as opposed to those dealing merely with technique and strategy. These ideas focus on the issues of critical thinking, investigative inquiry, and direct confrontation with ideas in various subject matters. We help teachers to be facilitators of discovery when working with their students, to use hands-on techniques in science, to use writing processes like revision, editing, dialogue, and feedback, and to use discovery of meaning in literature.

We also believe strongly in the principle of teachers being the best teachers of other teachers, so we rely heavily on collaborative organization in our projects. In these collaborations, once teachers have gone through our intensive in-service training, they become instructional leaders in their school environments, working with us as professional consultants. That model has served us very well.

We have started to look at University and school collaborations to see what kinds of things are working, to see how we can more effectively employ researchers and our faculty to improve the caliber of teachers and also the quality of learning and the environment of the school.

One of the things we have discovered is that there are various models that are working in the schools, and they work with varying degrees of effectiveness. We place these models into three categories. Most school-university collaboration involving school teachers and university faculty are considered alliance models. These are situations in which there is some sort of intellectual dialogue. This exchange can be in the form of a seminar, it can be in the form of a limited conference, it can be in the form of a regular quarterly, or monthly, or annual meeting where the primary emphasis is on developing collegiality, opening channels of communication, and exchanging ideas. Sometimes the dialogue evolves into faculty pontificating to practitioners because they see themselves in a superior role, but these types of relationships tend to have minor impact on what happens in the classroom. They don't deal directly with the problems that confront teachers and students and don't address the kinds of changes that have been discussed at this conference.

The alliance model is a kind of loose affiliation model. It's opposite, the cooperative research model, deals more with hard core research. Our university faculty are the primary driving force of this model, because, as we all know, promotion and tenure depend on research projects and on publishing articles. These articles may relate to what is going on in practice, but they may not benefit teachers and practitioners. This is the model that I think we are all too familiar with. This model means business as usual from the university perspective and often frustration from the practitioner's perspective.

The third model, the one that I think dominates CAIP's activities, is what we call a continuing education model, or an ongoing professional growth model. In this model teachers and administrators are encouraged to participate in programs, institutes, and seminars that provide them with an opportunity to update their knowledge, become familiar with what's been going on in research, and mull over findings on such things as effective schools and new approaches to dealing with science--experimentation and demonstrations--and all the things that are constantly being cranked out in research institutions. This gives educators a chance to think critically about how the research applies to their own situation and, more importantly, to have an opportunity to collaborate with one another and to collaborate as peers with university faculty. They are able to discuss their experiences in the school setting, modify materials and strategies, and share the things that they know, either from a gut level feeling or based on their own experience, have worked in the situations in which they find themselves. Opportunity for real change is present in this kind of supportive environment that is collaborative and that respects the expertise of both the practitioner and the faculty researcher.

What we have seen in this model is that those teachers who receive respect for their experience and are allowed to combine that experience with some new perspectives from research, are able to go out and begin refining the benefits of that research in real school settings. They test it and bring the findings back to us, and together we fine tune the results. We publish these results--written by the teachers in many cases--and share them with other teachers. We make this the driving force of ongoing workshops, conferences, and professional development programs that are tailored to the needs of individual teachers.

This model for extending and expanding the role of the teacher as instructional leader, as professional developer, as mentor, and as a clinical consultant with university researchers is one I hope will be seriously considered for improving teacher effectiveness. This model feeds in two directions. It feeds into the loose affiliations that result from the more informal dialogue of casual gatherings, seminars, and conferences. It also feeds into additional research that benefits not only university faculty, but teachers/practitioners as well, because the teacher/practitioners become the driving forces of that research.

Last year we began our first effort in a teacher/researcher project. We sent out a call to teachers who had been through some of our previous programs and wanted more, who wanted to test hypotheses and theories that they had discovered while going through one of our intensive summer institutes in writing, science, or math, and who wanted to develop a research plan that they could implement in their classrooms during the school year. We became the sponsors for their research, giving them a small stipend, and helping them define their problems and work on a research study. This project was implemented over the fall and spring semesters, and the teachers now have started to document an article that will be published in major journals and also in an anthology of research articles that we will offer through CAIP.

This model for teacher effectiveness has been evolving over the past six years. We are very excited about it simply because the people who have been working with us are now consultants with the state department of education, or consultants within their own schools and districts. They are called on by county offices to run workshops and develop curriculum, and to really utilize the talent that they already had, but had not been able to nurture while working in an isolated classroom situation. We have learned in the course of these evolving programs that teachers are hungry for the opportunity to collaborate and question one another about what is working in their classrooms. They are eager to share what is going on in their immediate environments. Yet, the school day is not structured in such a way to make that possible. We all know that. Although we work with teachers, building their expectations about what is possible, we also recognize that we must work with enlightened administrators and encourage them to restructure the school day so teachers can come together, be supportive of one another, and exchange ideas. They need time to discuss the things they observe happening with their students, the things they are aware of in the larger community, and the things they discover while reading research and professional literature.

What I am presenting to you is the beginning of a different concept of what the classroom teacher is and can be. We have seen teachers flourish and blossom when ways have been found to teach them. But it requires support, it requires the support of the administrator. Our center has been a facilitator and has also provided a safe haven when school districts are hostile or principals don't have any understanding of what is going on.

I suggest to you that this model is the kind of thing we need to create in school settings on a massive scale so we won't lose the best and the brightest and the most experienced teachers in our districts. Some of our teachers have come to use just on the verge of leaving the profession. Some we were not able to turn around. For those who are still teaching and are still willing to grapple with the problems, the CAIP program provides hope, it provides support, it provides constant intellectual engagement that nurtures these teachers. It also provides new options for their students, because the teachers take what they learn back into the classroom.

This model is only one possibility among many that focuses on the teacher's role, but we are extremely encouraged by what we have seen. We touch about 2,000 teachers a year. Considering what needs to be done, it is a drop in the bucket. But, it is a beginning.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Teacher Effectiveness

Charles Moody
University of Michigan

There are several things I would like to talk about, and one of them is teacher effectiveness. We can't look at it in isolation, as if we can make instruction more effective by divulging some mechanics. I'm going to put this into a context that might help us understand why we think that teachers and schools are ineffective.

I think American public education is very successful. It's not a failure. American public education has been able to carry out two diametrically opposed missions at the same time without failure, without flaw. It has been able to educate some students to assume the high-status roles that have been ascribed to them by society and, at the same time, educate other students to assume their ascribed low-status roles. You don't need to be a researcher or a genius to know which roles have been ascribed to whom. Education has been used to legitimize adult economic inequality. When we start talking about making teachers more effective, I think we are really talking about a change in the mission of education. Teachers and schools have been very effective in doing what they were set up to do. That was to salt and sift.

We must make two basic assumptions if we are to have truly effective teaching for all students. First, we must accept the premise on which the late Ron Edmonds based his Effective Schools movement: All students can learn. That is a hard concept for some people to deal with, and they rationalize by saying that Blacks are genetically inferior. These people believe Blacks can't learn because something is wrong with our genes, we come from one-parent homes, or we didn't have breakfast this morning.

The second assumption we must make is that we know all we need to know to educate all students. Whether we do depends ultimately on how we feel about the fact that, so far, we haven't educated all students equitably. When we start talking about closing the achievement gap, we have to ask ourselves if that is really within our value system. Do we really mean that? Do we really want to close the gap? Do we really want minority kids to learn? If we do, then we must change the current mission of education.

When I was teaching in Chicago, I would go into the lounge and I would hear teachers say, "You know, we're doing all right, the kids are only two years behind," or, "They're only one year below grade level." I would reply, "If you were teaching somewhere else you wouldn't let them get fifteen seconds behind, because someone's head would roll." It is not all right for kids to be two years behind, or even six months behind. When we talk about improving teacher effectives, we have to first understand that we have to change the motives of education. We have to change the corporate structures within the schools and the school system.

When educators talk about improvements in school and teacher effectiveness they get caught in a game of "either-or." They say, "What are we going to have? Are we going to have equity, or are we going to have excellence?" The big reports on U.S. education, like A Nation at Risk, said we don't have excellence in our schools because so much time was spent in the 60s and 70s on equity, as if excellence and equity becomes an either/or proposition. If teachers, administrators, and other folks believe that these are two competing interests, our schools can't be effective. Educators can always say, "Now look here, I didn't choose to deal with equity."

Educators must understand that equity and excellence do not compete with each other. I recently did some research on excellence and equity. I talked to all 127 school superintendents (out of 16,000) that were Black. I also sampled non-Black superintendents who had a lot of minority students in their schools. Over 85 percent of those superintendents said that you should not try to have excellence without equity. They are compatible; both are necessary.

If we can get people to stop thinking about equity and excellence as competing issues, we might get some effectiveness. Ron Edmonds defined equity as a public agenda that will benefit the least advantaged member of society. Equity asks the same thing of schools serving children of poor families that any parent of any child might ask of schools. How can an agenda that gives the same thing to every kid that comes to school and establishes a high standard of performance contain competing elements? We can have excellence in any walk of life and in any thing we do. We can expect excellence.

I recently read an article about minority students entering universities. Within that article, I could not find one positive word about what minority students bring into the educational process when they enter college. Everything was negative. They didn't have good preparation in secondary school, they didn't have good study habits, etc. If we are going to have effective education, it must be understood that all people have some strengths that they bring to school. They bring talents; they bring skills.

We cannot expect to achieve effective, equitable teaching unless the correct motives of education are clearly defined, articulated and understood. Then we can really get down to improving practices. One model we have used to help define effective educational practices is a four-dimensional concept of an equity-based education. The first dimension concerns access to schools, classes, and programs for all students. Effective instruction is blocked by people who don't want some folks in their classes. It's what I call the "It-wasn't-like-this-before-they-came" syndrome. Even when the minority kids are in the classroom, that kind of thinking often doesn't change. We must change the mentality that says that schools would be better if minorities weren't present.

The second dimension focuses on process. How are people treated once they get in the school? Are they treated with dignity and fairness? Teachers call more frequently on students who they perceive as being high achievers, they wait longer for them to answer, they give them prompts, they give them clues, they get closer to them, they give them feedback. Most teachers do not realize that they do this to kids. It does happen, however, and these teacher expectations directly affect student performance.

The third dimension is the dimension of achievement. Achievement is reflected by grades, test scores, graduation, and dropout rates; minority representation in multicultural curriculum; recognitions and awards; and the mastery of basic and advanced skills. Even when achievement shows that instruction is effective, others may not accept the results. In one instance in New York, kids in a reading program were doing well, and they were given the usual test in the spring. The kids achieved so highly that the State of New York sent some people out to investigate, because they were sure the kids had been cheating. The New York State Department of Education tested them again and got the same result, but they still wouldn't accept the fact that the kids were doing well.

The last dimension is transfer. If students get access to school and classes, and they are treated properly in the process, they achieve well. The next question to ask is: Are they able to transfer those achievements into additional educational opportunities and eventually into jobs that will provide them with equal pay, power, privilege and prestige? The worst thing we can do is to tell minority kids that all they need do is to be competent and to achieve, and everything will be all right. These kids understand that folks at home with alphabets behind their name are unemployed or underemployed. Each generation doesn't have to start from scratch, we can help each other. We need to teach kids how to network.

There are some things we can do directly to improve teacher effectiveness. We can look at the school climate, we can look at teacher expectations, we can look at the notion of effective teaching strategies. Teachers often don't tell students what their objectives are; they just tell them to learn it and someday it will be useful. Teachers might try teaching to an objective. They use a lot of activities that are related to their objective but not relevant. In addition, we shouldn't worry about not being able to use Bloom's Taxonomy when kids happen to be in a minority or the kids happen to be in special ed. All kids can learn the next thing beyond what they already know.

We must be careful not to kill motivation. No kid comes to kindergarten wanting to be a failure. They come to school motivated, ready to learn. Unfortunately, some teachers don't know how to deal with a kid who is motivated and shows that by asking questions. In the school where I worked in Evanston, most of the kids were from two minority groups, Blacks and Jews. The teachers were all White and gentile. They would describe the actions and reactions of the Jewish kids by saying, "They are really curious; they ask questions; they really push you." That was described as intellectual curiosity. When they described the same behavior in Black kids it was disrespect and insubordination. We have to look at how people respond and react to the same behavior from different kids.

The cultural congruence between student population and instruction is another educational aspect to consider. What kind of self-esteem would a White kid have if during his sixteen years in school, everyone he encountered was Black? What would he think if the only thing he read about Whites was that some guy named

Columbus got lost in 1492? In most minority education, there is no cultural congruence, there is nothing that is relevant to minority experiences.

Finally, we must have administrators who know what good instruction is and can recognize it in the classroom. Administrators who, when they walk into a classroom, aren't looking at the shades to see if they're even, the seats to check if they're lined up, or the kids to make sure they are quiet. Some activities require movement, talking, and noise. Principals should also let teachers work with each other and do some peer coaching.

The basic point is: Do people want minority kids to learn? As soon as we close the gap and minority students are achieving, people will no longer have an excuse not to hire minorities. The fastest growing jobs are in the service industry. Some folks say, "You really don't need a degree for a service job." Maybe you've heard them say, "Now look here, we don't have to teach them, because we can give them service jobs for the minimum wage." The folks that are ascribed the high-status roles are the folks who need higher education.

The best way to see this difference is in Chapter I schools. These schools have as many computers as some schools in the suburbs. The difference is in what the students are taught about the computers. Kids at the Chapter I students use their computers for drill and practice, drill and practice. In the other schools, computers are used to expand student thinking and capabilities; these kids learn how to program and how to manipulate the computer. Some teachers are not using dittos anymore for drill and practice, they are using computers for drill and practice.

We have been trying to instill some of these ideas into practice through our School Improvement Project, a teacher training program. One goal of our project is to increase teacher knowledge of research that deals with effective school correlates, successful implementation plans, effective teaching practices, time-on-task, curriculum development, and knowledge of effects on student achievement.

We also provide staff with development activities that will facilitate strategic planning, identify effective teaching practices, and improve the instructional leadership of supervisory personnel. We want to help schools create a more cohesive staff that feels they have a stake in improving instruction, and help develop mechanisms to increase community support and involvement. Staff development activities can facilitate an understanding of the impact of culture on schools.

Our third goal is to gather data that will give direction for planning, help in the evaluation of program effectiveness, and provide a basis for longitudinal studies.

The full model includes a model for Instructional Skills for Effective Training (ISET), which is used in conjunction with the School Improvement Project. This model has three cycles. The first deals with theory. Teachers and administrators attend workshops that focus on selecting an objective at the correct level of difficulty, monitoring learning and adjusting instruction, and using principles of learning to cause students to increase their rate of learning, retain more of what is learned, and transfer learning to new situations.

The second cycle is an instructional conferencing model. Teachers and administrators practice teaching, using feedback through discussion and videotaping to evaluate and improve instruction.

In the third cycle, educators make a commitment to become trainers. Intensive work on the elements of instruction and instructional conferencing are the major components. Additional workshops are provided on leadership, presentation skills, and effective workshop techniques.

Our school improvement efforts are based on the four-dimensional model of equity-based education. The ISET model provides a structure for communicating equity change to school staff. We chose this model because research has indicated that staff development is the most effective means of communicating these changes.

If we want to improve teaching, people must buy the premise that all kids can learn. We must not use education to legitimize adult inequality; we must not use the schools to promote salt and sift labor. That will improve effectiveness. I think all of the things I've talked about are part of effective teaching, but the most important aspect is the belief that kids can learn.

PROMISING PRACTICES

Improving the Quality of Teachers for Minority Students

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In spite of two decades of efforts, educational equity has not been achieved in the United States. The issue of equity in education has the potential of becoming a "time bomb," given the profound demographic changes this country is experiencing. Can improving the quality of teachers help close the existing achievement gap between majority and minority students? I believe that it can, but making schools work for Black and Hispanic children will take much more than improving the quality of teachers: it will take a concerted effort of national and state agencies, parents and communities, public schools, colleges and universities, and the private sector.

The first issue affecting the quality of teachers for minority students is one of numbers.

Teaching has traditionally been a profession of both choice and necessity for minorities--choice because many students were committed to uplifting their once profoundly under-educated population group, and necessity because access to other professions was historically limited by discrimination and restricted admissions (Wilson and Melendez, 1985).

However, the number of minorities who enter teacher preparation programs and who actually become teachers is declining rapidly. In 1970 Black professionals made up 12 percent of all teachers at the elementary and secondary levels, while today they constitute about 8 percent of that pool (NCES, 1985). Black colleges and universities historically have produced more than fifty percent of the nation's Black teachers (Wright, 1980). Since 1978, the number of new teachers produced annually by 45 predominately Black colleges has declined 47 percent (American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, 1983).

Even though the percentage of Hispanics in the teaching profession has increased slightly since 1975, they are even more seriously under-represented than Blacks in the teaching force (Garcia, 1985). While Hispanics comprise almost 7 percent of the total U.S. population, they constitute only a little over 2 percent of all teachers. The slight increase in the number of Hispanic teachers can be attributed to the fact that the U.S. Hispanic population began a rapid rise around 1965 (from 10 million to the current 17 million).

Currently, only 11 percent of all teachers and 8 percent of all newly-hired full-time teachers are members of a minority group. Minorities, however, constitute 21 percent of the total population and 27 percent of the school-age population. Projections indicate that, if trends continue, minorities may comprise as little as 5 percent of the teaching force by 1990, while the minority student population will be about one-third of all students.

Smith (1985) states that, if the minority teaching force is reduced to 5 percent and if schools become uniformly integrated, the typical school child, who has about 40 teachers during his/her school years, can expect only two of those 40 teachers to be from any minority group. The absence of a representative number of minority teachers and administrators in a pluralistic society distorts social reality for children and is detrimental to all students, white as well as minority (Witty, 1983).

Among many factors contributing to the declining numbers of minority teachers, the ones cited most often are (a) the general decline in college enrollment and college completion among minority youths, (b) expanded career choices for women and minorities, (c) dissatisfaction with the teaching profession, and (d) the impact of competency testing (Baratz, 1986; Rodman, 1985; Witty, 1983; Webb, 1986).

Effect of Competency Testing

The reform movement in education and public concern over the quality of instruction in American schools have led to an increased emphasis on teacher competency testing. According to Anrig (1986), teacher testing is one of the fastest-moving changes in this period of educational reform. In as little as five years, state-required testing for aspiring teachers to enter preparation and/or to become certified has become a nationwide trend involving 38 states, with seven additional states currently considering a teacher testing requirment. In 1984 alone, nine states enacted teacher training laws or regulations. An AACTE survey completed in June 1986 shows that 21 states currently require tests for entry into teacher training programs, while 37 states require tests for exist and certification. Anrig (1986) reports that 21 states currently use one of the Educational Testing Service's NTE tests, but that states also use the SAT, ACT, California Achievement Test, and state-developed tests (Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia and Oklahoma).

The single most important issue regarding teacher certification tests involves the high failure rates among minorities (Galambos, 1986). Widely-published statistics show that failure rates for Blacks and other minorities are two to ten times higher than those of whites.

It is too early to know if competency testing will improve the quality of teachers for minority students. We do know, however, that using tests intended to improve teacher quality has resulted in reducing the minority representation in the profession (Witty, 1983; Smith, 1984; Mercer, 1984; Garcia, 1985; Cooper, 1986; Baratz, 1986).

Other than competency testing, what are practices that can improve the quality of teachers for Blacks and Hispanics?

Effective instructors of minority students, whether they are members of the same ethnic group as their pupils or not, display similar behaviors to those of all successful teachers:

1. Effective teachers of minority students, like all effective teachers, exhibit "active teaching" behaviors that have been found to be related to increased student performance on academic tests of achievement in reading and mathematics.

    a. Teachers communicate clearly when giving directions, specifying tasks and presenting new information, using appropriate strategies like explaining, outlining, and demonstrating.

    b. They engage students in instructional tasks by maintaining task focus, pacing instruction appropriately, promoting involvement, and communicating their expectations for students' success in completing tasks.

    c. They monitor students' progress and provide immediate feedback. (Tikunoff, 1983).

2. Effective teachers of minority students, like effective teachers in general, communicate high expectations for student learning. Research on teacher and school effectiveness has established the existence of a relationship between teacher expectations and student achievement. Students "for whom low expectations for academic success are held are taught less effectively than those for whom teachers hold high expectations. In general, students who are not expected to make significant progress experience limited opportunities to engage actively in learning activities. Teachers are less likely to plan for or direct instruction toward this group. These students, most of whom are minorities, come under fewer demands for academic performance and increasingly greater demands for conformance in terms of behavior. (Brown, 1986)

   We must train and hire teachers for minority youngsters who display proven characteristics of effective teaching. In addition to the features exhibited by successful instructors in general, there are additional behaviors teachers of minority children must possess. These practices apply whether the teachers of Black and Hispanic students are members of these groups or not.

3. Effective teachers of minorities have a knowledge and appreciation of their pupils' culture and use this knowledge for instructional purposes.

   Tikunoff (1983) found that effective teachers of limited English proficient (LEP) students make use of their understanding of LEP students' home cultures to promote engagement in educational tasks. Teachers' use of cultural information takes form in three ways: (1) responding to or using L1 cultural referents to enhance instruction, (2) organizing instructional activities to build upon ways in which LEP students naturally participate in discourse in their own home cultures, and (3) recognizing and honoring the values and norms of LEP students' home cultures while teaching those of the majority culture.

4. Effective teachers of minority students recognize the legitimacy of the language variety of the students and utilize

> the students' languge or language variety in developing English or a standard variety of English. According to Brown (1986), "it is important for all of us, particularly those who have the responsibility for guiding the learning experiences of inner-city children, to recognize the legitimacy of the many dialects of American English and to utilize those dialects in establishing access routes to more effective communication." Brown adds tht "children whose basic speech patterns are comprised of dialectical variants are often reluctant to offer oral contributions to clasroom activities. This is particularly true if they have good reason to believe that those contributions will be judged for their conformance with accepted language conventions rather than content. Reticence on the part of these students elicits teacher interactions that serve to exacerbate further an already dehumanizing experience. The students soon succumb to feelings of not belonging and withdraw completely from all learning activities. This may be thought of as the point of no return. Regardless of teacher efforts to get these children actively involved, the forces operating against meaningful interaction are too firmly entrenched. Predictably, the outcomes of these actions and reactions are the same. Another group of minority students continues to make only marginal progress over the course of the school year."

In the significant Bilingual Instructional Features study, Tikunoff (1983) found that successful teachers of LEP students mediate effective instruction by using both L1 (native language) and L2 (second language, in this instance English) effectively for instruction, alternating between the two languages whenever necessary to ensure clarity of instruction.

Successful teachers of LEP students mediate effective instruction in a second way by integrating English-language development with academic skills development, focusing on LEP students acquiring English terms for concepts and lesson content even when L1 is used for a portion of the instruction.

There is widespread agreement in the field of bilingual education that a teacher of LEP students should possess a thorough knowledge of both languages of instruction, plus the ability to teach through those languages.

The need for bilingual competency is supported by a number of investigations. Rodriguez (1980) studied 20 elementary bilingual teachers in an effort to determine the competencies neede€ for effective bilingual teaching. She found that one of the characteristics most cited as synonymous with effective bilingual teaching was knowledge of the student's language. It was determined that effective bilingual teachers teach subject matter in the students' first language while giving this language and English equal status. In addition, effective bilingual teachers encourage their students to accept and use thier native tongue.

A teacher of LEP students has the dual task of communicating information through one or two languages while at the same time developing the students' skills in a new language. In the assignment of teachers in bilingual education programs, weight should be accorded to their degrees of proficiency in the two languges of instruction. Administrators of programs should match the teachers' proficiencies with the instructional goals of the program and/or with the objectives of a particular grade level. In a program whose goal is the rapid transition of students to monolingual English classes, a teacher who is more proficient in the language of the students than in English would be better placed in the language of the students than in English would be better placed in the very early "port-of-entry grades. A strong English As a Second Language component taught by ESL specialist with native or near-native proficiency should be an important part of the curriculum for those students. In that same program, an instructor with a higher proficiency in English would be best assigned to a grade where students are being prepared to enter an all-English curriculum.

An administrator must also consider the language proficiencies of the students when assigning bilingual teachers. Studies show a very strong parallel between teacher language use and student language use.

A teacher who is much more proficient in English than in the language of the students would not be an effective bilingual education teacher for students who are monolingual in their language. Wong-Filmore (1981) has stated that the language used for instructional purposes in bilingual classrooms must serve a dual function; it has to serve as linguistic input for language learning purposes, but just as important, it must also communicate information and skills associated with the subject matter being taught.

Assigning a teacher with degrees of language proficiency that are congruent with the goals of the program and the proficiency of the students is easier if the children are grouped by linguistic ability.

In summary, improving the quality of teachers for minority students necessitates

1. increasing the number of minority teachers to provide role models for all students, and

2. training and hiring teachers who, in addition to exhibiting behaviors chracteristic of effective teaching in general, are (a) culturally proficient and use their students' culture for instructional purposes and (b) are linguistically proficient and utilize the students' language or language variety for the purposes of instruction.

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THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

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THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Framework for Effective Schools[1]

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The strength of our nation is a direct function of the ability of our schools to educate -- majority as well as minority, women as well as men, children as well as adults. All students served -- all students educated. This is not only a goal, but a necessity. An institution that provides "effective schooling" is one that is able to maintain sustained progress towards national goals and expectations for all students.

In this definition, it is important to note that a school with a "good" reputation may not be an effective school. The difference between the two relates to the concept of progress and whether or not all students are well served. To some, "good schools" develop high levels of achievement for a certain portion of the students served. Effective schools, on the other hand, hold to a higher standard. They sustain high levels of growth for all students.

The recent reports on reading and writing produced by the National Assessment of Educational Progress document well the fact that the average performance of students on the process outcomes of education is simply not high enough to meet the needs of the Nation. The Nation is still at risk. Therefore, for effective schooling to become a reality, our schools must set and hold all students to higher expectations of performance on the process outcomes of education.

In order to provide effective schooling, an institution must set high goals and expectations, not only for the students served, but also for its administrators and its teachers and parents. And these goals and expectations must apply equally to students who are considered academically gifted and those who are considered educationally at risk. While equality in outcomes cannot be guaranteed, there is no place for differential opportunities or expectations for students.

[1] This framework was developed by the Ad Hoc Committee on Effective Schools

Stating that an institution has high expectations for the students it serves is not enough for effective schooling. These expectations must be stated in concrete terms -- in ways that can be observed and assessed. And as an integral part of effective schooling, student progress towards these expectations must be monitored continuously -- by measures of valued educational outcomes as well as by other indicators of success. An example of the former would be the periodic assessment of student ability to write through the use of direct writing samples. An example of the latter would be evidence that the retention rate for at-risk students was as high as the retention rate for the academically talented.

In stating that measures of valued educational outcomes must be used to monitor student progress, it is important to define what is meant by "valued educational outcomes." Education is not simply the acquisition of subject matter knowledge -- the facts and figures. Effective schooling involves the processes of learning -- the processes needed to actually solve problems, read with comprehension, and develop an idea in writing, for example. And measures of these processes, rather than of the discrete skills and facts, must be used to assess student progress towards these valued outcomes. No school can be considered effective without evidence of sustained progress for all students on these processes of learning.

In order to ensure that instruction is fulfilling student needs, appropriate tests that are in accord with real-world outcomes should be used. These tests should repeatedly show that students in all classrooms and at all ability levels are making satisfactory progress toward stated goals and expectations. They should demonstrate that students are successful on those optimally difficult learning tasks that ensure growth.

While it is important for teachers to use tests to monitor instruction, it is very important to distinguish these tests from those which show that students are making progress toward valued educational outcomes. These outcome measures should be used for the purpose of redesigning the curriculum and teacher-directed instruction so that ever increasing progress is made towards the bottom line -- towards attaining valued outcomes.

Two statewide testing programs stand out as exemplars in terms of their use of measures that focus on the process outcomes of education rather than the discrete skills and facts of education. In Connecticut and New York, outcome measures are used that permit the assessment of student progress towards expectations -- absolute expectations set in terms of functional needs of the State and the Nation rather than relative needs set in relation to the average performance of students on tests that are only norm-referenced.

Effective schools use a variety of assessments to provide information for informed decision-making not only in terms of current problems, but also with respect to the need for attaining those levels of performance required to function effectively in the future. According to NAEP, for example, only 1 in 20 seventeen-year-old students can read at the "adept" level. It is obvious that we need to know what must be done in the future in order to plan for new and higher levels of performance.

Inadequate student performance is a cause for restructuring and redesign not only of educational programs, but also of the retooling of management and related support systems in the school and in the community which are required for implementation of instructional programs that have been shown to work in similar educational systems. Effective schools are problem-solving institutions which serve all students in meeting their aspirations and the nation's need for informed, literate citizens in an increasingly competitive world.

In order to define and resolve problems, and sustain high levels of progress for all students, effective schools:

- Reallocate and/or allocate additional resources (e.g., time, teachers, and materials) to improve the performance of low-achieving students.

- Involve teachers and other staff in ongoing examination and revision of decisions and in collegial problem-solving regarding effective implementation of instruction within and across classrooms.

- Provide adequate resources to improve the delivery of instruction of the most important learning skills, particularly for low-achieving students, through school-wide staff development.

In drawing attention to the processes of learning, such as the ability to solve problems, read with comprehension, and develop an idea in writing, we must take note of the fact that effective schooling requires that students be engaged in productive learning experiences, not simply time-on-task. And throughout the school year, the amount of time students are actively engaged in the learning process is critically important. Furthermore, teachers must be sensitive to the needs and abilities of the students served in order to engage them in productive learning experiences in the classroom. This means that the materials used to deliver instruction must not be so easy as to create boredom, nor too difficult to create frustration.

In effective schools, all students must have a demonstrable opportunity to develop cognitive processes to comprehend, think, and compute. This means that students should be actively engaged in a mixture of interactive and teacher-directed instruction for a significant portion of the school day. All students should also have an opportunity to learn in the content fields and such opportunities should be integrated with the development of processing capabilities. While the curriculum may be enriched for the gifted, it should not be trivialized for those who are at risk or who are more dependent upon the school for their development. Finally, effective schooling requires that teachers be sensitive to the art of classroom questioning, listening well to student responses and providing constructive clues and feedback to facilitate the learning process.

While the above generalities hold for institutions that provide effective schooling, there are a number of additional requirements for institutions that serve high-risk students -- students, who are almost solely dependent upon schools for the development of the processes of education. The educational attainments of disadvantaged students, who are disproportionately black, Hispanic, American Indian, and poor serve as a barometer to determine whether a school is engaged in effective schooling. An effective school produces as much progress towards national goals and expectations for these students as it does for the educationally advantaged.

To provide effective schooling for the educationally disadvantaged, a school must assign some of the best teachers, allocate a disproportionate amount of resources, and provide small class sizes or otherwise address the problems of these students. Anything less, and the educationally disadvantaged will not be able to sustain progress towards the acquisition of the processes of learning. Finally, to sustain progress, particularly for at-risk students, attendance should be high and the school should aggressively resist the transferring of students in and out of classrooms for pull-out programs, unless they are fully and productively coordinated with regular classroom instruction.

Effective schooling requires that concrete and manageable plans be developed and in place for starting off a school year with complete programs and a fully professional staff ready to teach. The school year is too short to waste time on start-up processes and it is especially important to make sure that the at-risk students are served with the best staff from the very start of the school year. Effective schooling requires the systemtic upgrading of instruction so that it is in accord with the state-of-the-art in instructional fields as documented in various professional reports such as the NIE report entitled, Becoming A Nation of Readers.

Teachers and administrators who provide effective schooling are critical consumers of educational books, computer software, and other products, making sure that they have been validated for instructional use. Because these products overwhelmingly determine the nature of instruction, those involved in effective schooling frequently acquire updated products to support efforts at upgrading themselves.

Effective schools recognize the importance of teachers, parents, and community representatives and involve them in the planning, decision-making, and evaluation process of educating children. Effective schools do not depend on top-down mandates to improve instruction. Effective implementation of instructional reform requires a mixture of school-level decision-making and top-level direction-setting, with emphasis on on-going, building-level staff development and initiative focusing on how instructional improvements will be defined, implemented, and modified. Teachers must be deeply involved as scholar practitioners in determining, through collegial decision making, how improvements are shaped and delivered.

Evaluation indicators and criteria that can be employed in identifying institutions that provide effective schooling can be grouped under three major headings: (1) indicators of efficacy, (2) indicators of quality, and (3) indicators of equality. Examples of such criteria are as follows:

(1) Indicators of efficacy:

- Assessment of educational outcomes based on process measures such as work samples, direct writing samples, and holistic measures of comprehension. Specifically, tests which sample discrete skills rather than engage comprehension, writing, and computing processes should not be relied upon as indicators of educational progress. Attempts to legislate improvements in education through minimum competency testing programs fall short for students, especially students who are at risk, because they focus attention on lower-level discrete skills at the expense of comprehension, problem-solving, and the expression of ideas orally and in writing.

- Frequent monitoring of student progress towards outcomes by classroom teachers using a variety of formal and informal procedures.

(2) Indicators of quality:

- A supportive school climate which is also visible in the classroom.

- Clear statements of school goals and expectations which are shared by students, school staff, parents, and other community representatives.

- Other components of effective schools as indentified in the literature, e.g., 1) school mission; 2) leadership; 3) school climate; 4) high expectations; 5) instructional improvement; 6) assessment.

(3) Indicators of equality:

- Attendance rates for at-risk students which equal or exceed those for the entire school.
- Retention and completion rates for at-risk students which equal or exceed that for the entire school.
- Progress toward educational goals and expectation for at-risk students which is equal to that made by all students.

To employ such indicators in the identification of effective schools, it is important to remember that such data must be available on a disaggregated basis. Effective schools must collect, record, and retain quantitative and qualitative data in a fashion that supports longitudinal analysis of the performance of individual students and groups of students. Such analyses would include, for example, data disaggregated by race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, and grade level. Anything less and there is no way to ascertain whether sustained progress is being made for all students.

Schools that provide effective schooling are humane and creative problem-solving institutions that engage students in academic learning processes which enable them to become capable of full participation in a free society that needs intellectually capable citizens.

THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Quality Indicators for Monitoring Equity

Ramsay Selden
Council of Chief State School Officers

I am the director of the effort by the Council of Chief State School Officers to develop better indicators for education. The part of that job that is politically popular right now and the one that generates interest in the press is the issue of state by state comparisons and comparative achievement testing. It is, however, a small part of what I believe to be the very important problem of developing better indicators for monitoring educational equity. We should have better indicators, but we don't, because it is not the primary task that is before a group of educators like this one. Your primary task is making schools work for underachieving students. I think, however, that the development of educational indicators is a supportive task that can make your efforts work better and be more successful. I am in the business I'm in because I believe in indicators and their value.

We need better information on how schools are functioning for underachieving minorities. I would like to explain how that would work, in a sort of idealistic sense, and then tell you, from state policymaker's perspective, where we stand in terms of getting the information we need.

This model of the distribution of excellence in the school system was developed by Jeannie Oakes of the Rand Corporation. I liked it before this meeting, but now I like it even more, because it pulls together many of the things that have been discussed during this conference. According to this model, there is a process that results in inequitable outcomes in the school systems in this country.

This process begins at the elementary school level, where the extent of a child's interest and achievement leads to placement in one of two routes at the junior high level. If the elementary school child has an opportunity to develop interests and he demonstrates achievement, that child is much more likely, according to the research, to be placed in high school academic prep programs, or even initial high school courses at the junior high level.

That placement leads to the high school college prep program, which is characterized by more academic courses, courses that are sequential in nature, courses that accumulate and build on one another, and courses that present advanced-level content. The advanced courses stimulate additional interest and persistence in studying academic subject matter beyond minimum requirements.

Down the other route, the elementary child who does not experience success in academic achievement early in elementary school loses interest, and tends to be placed in intermediate or junior high school programs that are remedial in content and practical in orientation. That placement leads them to high school programs that are vocational, general, or remedial, and that are characterized by fewer academic courses. Generally, courses that don't build upon one another and that address lower level content are not sequential. These courses promote a lack of interest, persistence, and further achievement on the part of the students enrolled in them. These students are much less likely to overcome that experience and be interested in going on to the high school or higher education levels.

Although these two paths are very logical and feel intuitive, the model was constructed by synthesizing research. The snowball effect described above is what really happens in schools. This is how kids get tracked down one route or the other. I think one of the most troubling aspects of this problem is the clear recognition that the process starts early, at the elementary school level.

Based on her model, Oakes developed a set of indicators to show the extent to which schools are engendering that routing and those patterns of success for minority students and for women. The distribution of excellence for minority students and for women were both considered during the development of the indicators.

Basically, the model includes two types of indicators, indicators that measure outcome or performance, and those that measure the processes within schools that characterize how schools are serving different kinds of students.

The outcome or performance indicators, which are evaluated over time, incorporate achievement data by SES, race, and gender. The data need to be coded this way in order for overall patterns of achievement to be analyzed and monitored. The important thing is that the data be broken down into all three categorical groups at the same time, not just by race without accounting for gender or SES. There are various differential inequity effects within racial groups when they are considered by gender and by SES.

There are a variety of possible outcomes, for example, what students study and learn (achievement in basic skills or subject areas), the courses they complete, and their interests in and their rate of high school completion. These outcomes can be monitored comparatively and over time in order to determine how equitable services in the school are. All aspects of the outcome indicators should be recorded by SES, race, and gender, so that cross-tabulation by groups can be shown. Means within groups should be looked at, and because the comparison of means tends to mask the fact that there is a great deal of variation within groups, the distributions across groups also should be considered.

The process indicators were developed to show if schools are delivering their services equitably. Looking at both the indicators of school and instructional process, then, gives educators a picture of how effectively and equitably programs are working, and signals areas in need of strengthening. For instance, a first step might be to monitor achievement in grades four, eight and eleven by means, and by group, and by the distribution of groups across quartiles. This gives a sense of the extent to which students in racial and ethnic groups are being distributed across the performance range. The data need to be broken down by SES, race, and gender, and cross-tabulated. The school might also keep track of the development of student interests, student confidence, and parental encouragement at each of the grade levels. As group differences in the variables emerge, the schools can then detect those differences and respond to them. Attitudes also should be monitored, especially those related to further study in the academic areas. That monitoring, in this example, would begin in the fourth grade and be repeated in the eighth and tenth grades.

At the elementary level, attention to process might mean keeping track of the instructional time spent in various subjects, again by SES and racial makeup of the school, and amount of homework. We should look at participation by race and SES in high school courses, and the ratio of course enrollments to the proportion of groups in the school population. How disproportionate is student representation in courses like calculus or academic chemistry?

Next to be considered in Oakes' model are resource indicators within the school. These classify the school by its racial and SES makeup, and look at things such as for-pupil expenditures, teacher salaries, pupil-teacher ratios, and class size. Are the schools within a district different in a way that is related to the socioeconomic and racial makeup of the school? At the elementary level we should keep track of the instructional time spent in various subjects, again by SES and racial makeup of the school. We should look at participation by race and SES in high school courses, and the ratio of course enrollments to the proportion of groups in the school population. How disproportionate is student representation in courses like calculus or academic chemistry? What is the distribution of curriculum resources like laboratory facilities in instructional processes?

Schools must have a plan for raising minority achievement. Plans to boost achievement should contain supplemental programs, extracurricular activities and programs, staff development programs, curriculum development efforts, and special guidance programs. Data collected for process indicators can help keep track of these five elements.

The Chief State School Officers are working on two projects that are helping us determine the extent to which we will be able to monitor this kind of comprehensive information at the state level. In one project we are looking at the core database in education, which is collected by each state. We find, from the demographic indicators on a state level, that states do not have standard data on the locale of their schools, whether they are urban, suburban or rural, or what types of neighborhoods these school serve. School enrollments are not cross-tabulated by race or sex. We have no standard SES indicator for schools that is collected and used by the states.

The national core database for outcomes shows that state-level data that classifies graduates by school and racial or ethnic group is not generally available. Some states have it, some don't. We don't have standard dropout data at the state level. We don't have standard dropout data at all; most states don't collect dropout data by student characteristic.

In the second project, undertaken in collaboration with the National Science Foundation, we are looking at the math/science indicators that are collected and used by each state. Thirty-five to forty states have achievement data in subjects like math, science, and reading. We are currently studying whether they report that data by race, sex, and SES. Similarly, four to seven states collect attitude and interest information. We are finding out now if they report that by student group. Seven states keep track of the post-secondary majors selected by students and they break that down by racial or ethnic group of the student--but only seven states. One state monitors time spent in different subjects in the elementary school by group of students served--but only one state. Ten states monitor student enrollment by subject and ethnic group.

Thirty-eight states--I think this is kind of surprising--only thirty-eight states regularly keep track of the ethnicity of their teachers. Forty-eight keep track of teacher assignments and certification. That information could be broken down by the kinds of students those teachers serve. We don't know yet, but I think that relatively few states are doing that now. Only four states observe teacher performance. If we wanted to know if teachers perform better with advantaged versus disadvantaged students, we would not have the information to do so.

Only ten or eleven states keep track of the amount or type of professional development programs provided to teachers; only two states keep track of the extent to which teachers are involved in voluntary professional enhancement activities. Twenty-three states have the potential of monitoring teacher knowledge of their subject matter. Thirty-six states keep track of pupil-teacher ratios and fifteen or sixteen record the classroom resources that are provided. We don't know yet if any of these data are broken down by the type of student served.

The main point is that the rudimentary information a state level policymaker needs to determine if his school system is meeting equity concerns isn't even available. We don't have the basics, let alone the breakdowns by student type that we need to monitor these issues. What I see as the first and most important problem is that people simply don't have a strong model and rationale for monitoring these equity concerns. I think this is where Oaks' model of the distribution of excellence has made a contribution.
We intend to get our people to do some thinking about how they might apply such a model within their individual states.

Secondly, we are running into tremendous resistance to change. Existing data are sacred, and there is a horrendous inability on the part of state and local school people to change it. They think if they redefine the data or add information, somehow their continuity with the past will be broken. I don't know if this is the issue in every case, or if people just don't want to do additional data collection. There is a tremendous, tremendous resistance to change. We proposed last year that states start collecting standard demographic data on school enrollment in every school in the country, including the sex and race breakdowns within each school--not by grade, but by the school as a whole. We ran into tremendous resistance on the part of state data collection people.

There is also something of a money issue. I think it is less of an issue when it is a matter of expanding and tuning the existing data collection system, in which we now invest relatively little. A little bit of money would help us all offset some of the additional costs.

In order to take the recommendations that people have been making in this conference, the recommendations have to be translated into objective data that can be used to keep track of how the school systems are doing in regard to underachieving minorities. We aren't very well equipped to provide and use that data right now, at least among our constituents. There is a need to reformat data collection, and in many cases, add to the data collection that already takes place in schools. People have to accept that the value and importance of the information is worth the restructuring process, even if it increases the burden of collecting the data. We have a lot of work to do.

THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Persistence and Patience

Todd Endo
Director of Research and Evaluation
Fairfax County Public Schools

> Commitment to the academic success of black students clearly requires a sensitivity to the need for resolving these crucial cultural conflicts between school and community. Persisting in the face of these conflicts is more than many students, who see themselves as powerless, can manage. The teacher must affirm those behaviors needed to demonstrate achievement in the larger academic community, while simultaneously understanding the cultural and learning style diversity that the minority student brings to the learning environment.[1]

Like the teacher and the student who must learn to persist in the face of conflict and difficulty, the school system that seeks to improve the achievement of minority students must persist as well. Brilliance, creativity, and political savvy are all desirable. Technically sound analysis and use of data (even disaggregated data) are necessary but not sufficient steps to be taken. Persistence, patience, and just plain plugging along are mundane but vital ingredients that spell the difference between a good plan and a successfully implemented program.

The Fairfax County Public Schools is in its second full year of implementing a series of activities designed to improve the academic achievement and aspirations of minority students. The Fairfax program features school-based planning, implementation, and evaluation to match the identified needs of the students, implementation, and evaluation to match the identified needs of the students, skills of the staff, and potentially effective strategies for improvement in individual schools. School-based planning is conducted within a central mandate and framework. Other key ingredients are a sufficient timeline to develop and implement activities, additional resources of money and time, intensive support and assistance from central and area offices, careful monitoring and feedback, and above all dogged persistence and patience.

As the program has developed, there has been a continuing struggle to keep it on course. The temptations have been to speed up the process, to direct more and nurture less, to treat all schools like identical parts of the machine, to look for blueprints for the quick fix, to simplify the expected outcomes to standardized test scores, and to wash away the emphasis on minority student achievement in the tide of competing priorities and crises.

By the end of the first full year of implementation in 1985-86, modest improvement in minority students' achievement occurred. However, being in only the second year of implementation, we must persist through the full stages of implementation and be patient before judging the success of Fairfax's minority students' achievement program.

This paper first describes briefly the Fairfax program. Then it develops in more detail selected, important aspects of the program. Finally, the paper discusses some dilemmas, tensions, and unresolved issues in the program.

Background for the Fairfax County Program

Planning

In the summer of 1983, the Fairfax County Public Schools established a staff study group[2] which analyzed 1982-83 school achievement data to determine the status of minority students' performance. The study group purposely chose to examine regularly collected data that were broader than just standardized test scores. The eight indicators of achievement that were examined included:

- retentions in grade
- enrollment in higher level and lower level courses
- grades
- placement in special programs
- attendance
- dropout rates
- post-secondary school educational plans
- standardized test scores

Data on these eight indicators of achievement were analyzed by four ethnic groups: white, black, Hispanic, and Asian. Inclusion in a specific ethnic group was determined by the response of parents on the student's enrollment card to a question that used the categories provided by the U.S. Office of Civil Rights.

The study group concluded that the achievement of black and Hispanic students was unacceptably low and below that of white students on nearly every indicator examined.

To address this identified problem, the study group concluded that the most promising strategies were directly related to the factors identified in the research on effective schools and effective teaching, namely: administrative leadership, high expectations for all students, defined instructional objectives, an orderly environment for learning, systems for regularly monitoring student learning, and parent and community support. The study group further concluded that improvement in minority students' performance was achievable as part of a long-range plan for school improvement that would benefit all students. Specifically, the study group proposed the following elements of a successful plan:

- Establishment of a major, long-range school board priority to improve minority students' academic achievement and aspiration

- Leadership from the superintendent and other top school system leaders through providing direction, announcing expectations, generating momentum, and providing visible support and attention

- Development of local school improvement plans which address the achievement and aspirations of minority students within guidelines established by the school board and superintendent

- Commitment of additional resources (time, money, and staff) and the reallocation of some existing resources over an extended period of time

- Development of a systemwide plan for program and staff development based on the effective schools' research and the sharing of successful strategies for improving minority students' academic achievement

- Provision of additional evaluative tools and training to teachers and principals to monitor student achievement.

Implementation of the Program

Although the implementation of the minority students' achievement plan has evolved since its beginning in 1984-85, it basically has stayed true to the vision expressed in the initial staff report. The balance between direction, support, and monitoring by the school system and the development, implementation, and evaluation of school-based plans by school staffs has been critical.[3]

Central Direction

The school board, superintendent, and top level staff persistently announce that the improvement of minority students' achievement is a major school system priority and that they expect the multiple indicators of achievement to show improvement over a number of years. This priority and direction are reflected consistently in the superintendent's annual operating plan for the school system, the divisionwide plan for the improvement of minority students' achievement, publications, speeches, remarks at school board meetings, memos, and a variety of other means of communication.

The divisionwide plan issued at the beginning of the 1985-86 school year stated a series of objectives and evaluation strategies that relied on the eight indicators of student achievement used in the study. At the same time, the superintendent emphasized that while he planned to monitor results in terms of student outcomes, he believed that the best place for program planning and implementation was at the school level. He also indicated that the role of the central and area offices was to "support both divisionwide emphases and school-community identified objectives." This focus on school-based planning was also contained in the superintendent's annual operating plan. He directed the schools to develop, implement, and evaluate plans according to an established time schedule and committed systemwide resources to support the schools' efforts.

School-Based-Planning

The central element of the program is school-based planning. The process involves an annual cycle of activities:

- Development of final objectives, strategies, and evaluation plans in the early fall
- Submission of plans by the end of October
- Review of plans and return of individualized written responses to principals by the superintendent in November
- Implementation of the plans throughout the year beginning in September
- Collection and analysis of data at the school throughout the year
- Review of activities, progress, and concerns by the area superintendents and the deputy superintendents at mid-year
- Submission of an annual evaluation report in June that reports results and discusses implications for the next year's plan
- Review of evaluation reports and return of individualized written responses to principals by the superintendent in July that include advice and requirements for the next year's plan
- Repetition of the cycle

Often merely a paper exercise, this process gains vitality through a number of strategies. First, school system leaders visibly and repeatedly announce their intentions and expectations. Second, they follow up by personally showing specific interest by responding to individual school plans and reports, participating in mid-year review meetings, visiting schools, and discussing evaluation reports. Through these interactions, they encourage collaborative planning by members of the school community, recognize differences in plans due to differences in school circumstances, encourage changes in plans if the situation or data calls for them, and support continuity in plans if all is going well. Third, central and area offices provide extensive and intensive support and assistance.

With the steady stream of new priorities that flow across the experienced principal's desk, it is no wonder that his or her typical response to another new priority is "this too shall pass." Visible persistence is required to convince principals that the minority students' achievement priority will remain. The school system leaders reinforce the message that they mean business by committing the resources and giving the assistance necessary to enable schools to succeed.

Persistent reinforcement is also needed to convince school staff that their ideas are sought and that good school level plans will be approved. Many school staff are in the habit of trying to guess what the superintendent wants. Top-down management is part of the system culture. Principals, with good reason, often greet the call for bottom-up initiative with skepticism.[4]

Schools developed their first plans in the fall of 1984. Because of the late start, the first full planning and implementation cycle was completed in the 1985-86 school year.

Individual school plans addressed one or more of the eight indicators specified by the school system. In addition, they developed objectives and activities determined by the school. These included quantity and quality of student writing, reduction of disciplinary problems, more parental involvement, greater participation in school activities, and progress through reading text books.

Systemwide Support and Assistance

The school system supported its plan with action that gave credibility to its claim that minority students' achievement was indeed an ongoing priority:

- Beginning in 1985-86, money was set aside to fund school-based proposals. This strategy not only provided additional resources to schools but also reinforced the notion of school-based plans. The total available funds for grants has increased steadily to meet demand.

- Also in 1985-86, a coordinator was hired and resource teachers were provided to manage the program and provide assistance to schools.

- To help schools plan and implement, written models were provided, workshops were conducted, and individual assistance was given.

- To help schools monitor and evaluate the effects of their strategies, resource manuals were provided, workshops were conducted, group and individual assistance was provided, and on-going follow-up was provided at the individual school level.

- Systemwide staff development programs were offered to volunteer school staff. Examples included the Teacher Expectations and Student Achievement (TESA) program and the Classroom Management Training Project begun in the 1984-85 school year. These programs reinforced the idea that strategies to improve minority students' achievement can be integrated with strategies for school improvement.

- Centrally based activities were conducted to pursue the system's direction and to support school-based activities. Examples included a review of procedures to select students for special programs, training for guidance counselors, overall coordination of the program, review of proposals for school-based grants, and initiation of some instructional programs.

- Related initiatives were linked to the minority students' achievement priority. For instance, for the 1985-86 school year, the school board approved a proposal written by a group of principals to allocate additional resources to schools with a high proportion of students with special needs. In addition, in the spring of 1986, the school board approved the superintendent's recommendation for a new priority "to develop a system for school-based management."

The provision of supplemental resources was crucial to convince schools that the school system was serious. Perhaps more important were the individual attention given to schools and the accompanying message that school-based efforts were indeed supported. For rhetoric to become reality, persistent effort was required as evidence.

School System Monitoring

Based on the original staff committee report, an annual report on minority students' achievement is issued each year in the fall. The report provides system level trend data by ethnic group on each of the eight original indicators. This report is presented at a school board meeting and publicized through the media.

In addition, analyses are conducted to answer specific questions about subsets of schools or students. These analyses are provided to the requestor on an ad hoc basis.

Moreover, area superintendents monitor progress through their related planning process. As mentioned earlier, they review the individual school plans and evaluation reports. They also are provided school level data on their schools for use in supervision.

Schools are provided data on their students using the same indicators and ethnic group classifications used for the systemwide report. They use these data for planning, evaluation, and reporting purposes.

Finally, a community advisory board reviews the process and progress and gives advice to the superintendent.

Results to Date

School plans were developed during the 1984-85 school year and the first full year of implementation was the 1985-86 school year. The annual report issued in October 1986 provided trend data for four years culminating in the first full year of implementation. The summary of the report stated:[5]

> During 1985-86 the standardized test results showed improvements, especially for black students. Of all ethnic

> groups, black students made the greatest gains on the SRA tests over the last four years. In grades 8 and 11, black students have made gains each year, increasing cumulatively by as much as ten percentile points in grade 11. On the Virginia Minimum Competency Test, the percentage of black students who passed the tests increased substantially in 1986.

In addition, the percentage of black students scoring above the 50th percentile increased by three percentage points over the three year period. Other minority groups improved on this measure slightly, while the performance of white students declined slightly. The percentage of black students scoring below the 20th percentile declined by four percentage points over this same three year period, while the performance of all other groups stayed the same on this measure.

On the other seven indicators of achievement, the message was mixed. Placement of black students into programs for the emotionally disturbed and mildly mentally retarded showed steady declines over the four year period. The intention of black students to attend a four year college steadily increased. On the other indicators, no strong trends were noticeable. The report concluded:

Clearly, minority student achievement is not at the levels it should be. While the first full year data in this report show some progress, justifying the Board's long-term commitment, only in the long term will minority achievement reach satisfactory levels.[6]

Next Steps

Fairfax is now in the second full year of implementation of its minority students' achievement activities. For this year and the foreseeable future, reinforcement of the existing activities is planned. We expect that persistence will pay off.

In addition, some new activities are planned that reflect a more advanced stage of development. For instance, promising school-based practices will be identified and described. In printed form and through personal contact, school staff will share these practices with their peers. Perhaps grants will be given to schools so that they may adopt and adapt promising practices developed by others.

Also, because the program is approaching the end of the second full year of implementation, longitudinal data will be available on students. For example, students from the four major ethnic groups with similar achievement in grade 6 will be tracked on subsequent indicators of achievement, such as test scores, enrollment in higher level and lower level courses, grades, and placement in special programs.

In the next few years, the minority students' achievement emphasis will be integrated with and reinforced by other major school system initiatives. Clearly, the emphasis on school-based planning will be reinforced by the school board and superintendent's priority to develop a school-based management program. As part of this program, a new process for selecting, training, assigning, and evaluating principals and other school-based administration is being developed. This new process should help clarify the role of all administrators and enhance the possibilities for success of both school-based management and the minority students' achievement emphasis.

Also related to the minority students' achievement emphasis is the school system training based on *The Skillful Teacher*,[7] a generic instructional and supervision model developed by Jon Saphier. This model provides the framework for the instructional focus expected of school-based administrators and teachers, and is integral to the new performance evaluation program being developed in Fairfax. The cumulative effect of these initiatives will be to enhance the role of school-based staff to design, implement, and evaluate improved instructional strategies with a particular emphasis on minority students.

CONTEXT AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE FAIRFAX PROGRAM

The Context is Fairfax County

The process for improving the achievement of minority students described in this paper may be suitable only for Fairfax County. Just as there is no one best educational system, there is no one best strategy for improving the achievement of minority students.

Fairfax County is a large, metropolitan school district in which minority students represent about 22 percent of the enrollment. Fairfax has sufficient staff and financial resources to support minority students' achievement programs as well as most other identified priorities. Most students achieve well and the public is generally happy with the school system. Standard operational functions relating to personnel, budgeting, accounting, purchasing, planning, and transportation generally happen routinely. A standard framework for curriculum and instruction is in place. Basically, this is so because the school-based staff and centrally-based staff are competent and have put into place systems to handle the routines. Though not without crises, Fairfax can afford to build on a solid foundation and plan carefully selected strategies for improvement.

Assumptions Underlying the Fairfax Program

The Fairfax program is built on many explicit and implicit assumptions, which rely on much of the research on effective schools and school improvement. However, competing models are also based on research.[8] Without discussing which model is more true, I will state some of the assumptions of our program:

- The school is the basic unit of school improvement.
- The school board and superintendent should establish priorities and give general direction, but a school staff is in the best position to develop the specific plans to enable its school to move in the desired direction.
- The emphasis on minority students' achievement is not an add-on and should be integrated with systemic efforts to improve instruction.
- There is no magical solution or panacea. The task is to put together a set of available ideas and commit the system to implement the ideas with sufficient resources over an extended period of time.
- The improvement process takes time.
- The improvement process requires varied strategies to provide support and supervision.

The remainder of this section of the paper will expand on each of these assumptions.

The School is the Basic Unit for Improvement

Fairfax recognizes that the desired improvement at the school system level is composed of improvements made school-by-school and teacher-by-teacher. In addition to systemwide activities, great efforts must be expended in each school.

The focus on the school implies a recognition that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. That is, while the individual teacher is important, the school is more than a collection of individual teachers. In fact, there is a need to break down some of the isolation that teachers and administrators feel, to develop more collegial and collaborative relationships, and to develop a sense of a common school mission.

From this perspective, a school system could impose a uniform program and then implement it school by school. Fairfax took a different tack.

School Staffs are in the Best Position to Plan and Implement Activities within Their School

This statement contains within it a number of further assumptions. First, because each school is different, the school system should be careful what it demands that all schools do. The superintendent has stated that he wants to hold principals accountable for results and give them flexibility in terms of the means.

Second, most principals and teachers have sufficient skills, interests, and ideas to be entrusted with the development of school-based plans. In most schools, the principal and teachers can learn even if the central office is not teaching. Just as higher expectations for students are desired, the assumption is that high expectations for school staffs will lead to higher achievement.

Third, if the staff is more involved in making program decisions, their commitment to the effective implementation of these decisions will be greater and the results for students will also be greater.

Central and area office staff tailor their support and assistance to the needs of the individual school and principal. While some large group instruction is given, most activities are designed for small groups of likeminded staff or for individuals. This strategy is similar to a teacher designing total class, small group, and individualized instruction.

Minority Students' Achievement is Not an Add-on

Since there is a tendency to view a new initiative as an addition to the existing program, Fairfax is emphasizing that minority students' achievement activities should be integrated into the ongoing instructional program, not added on to it. Therefore, Fairfax is encouraging improvement in the regular functions of a school; for instance, counseling students into existing higher level courses, better monitoring of individual student progress, involving more parents of minority students in the ongoing life of the school, improving teacher expectations, examining screening procedures for special programs, and focusing on writing or thinking skills across the curriculum. Fairfax is not encouraging greater grouping of minority or underachieving students or pulling out identified students from regular classes for special instruction.

There is No Magical Solution or Persistence Pays Off

The superintendent has emphasized that there is no magical solution to the problem of improving minority students' achievement and that only a persistent effort over a number of years will succeed. A review of what the school system and each of the schools are doing reveals no dramatically new instructional ideas. The ideas are good but were culled from personal experience and reflection, discussions with colleagues, and insights from external publications and workshops. What does contribute to success is the persistent attention paid to planning, implementation, and evaluation. Persistent attention means that the improvement process takes time.

The Improvement Process Takes Time

The downfall of many new initiatives is the belief that policy decisions are self-implementing or are easy to implement. By their statements and actions, the school board and superintendent are attempting to resist the pressure to speed up the process. The superintendent has emphasized the need for a long-term persistent effort that will yield slow but steady improvement. On many topics he has been quoted to say, "Just because we've planted the seed and it's germinating doesn't mean you can keep picking up the plant and looking at it every day." The school board considered the annual report, presented in October 1986 after the first full year of implementation, to be a progress report, not a summative report on the program's successes or failures. In the mid-year reviews, the deputy superintendents stressed that the priority will remain for the foreseeable future because the improvement process takes time.

A second dimension of time is the "life space" needed by all staff, but especially principals and teachers, to plan, implement, and evaluate school board plans thoughtfully. A principal's and teacher's day is full of countless important and mundane events. It is too much to expect that school staffs will plan effectively on top of everything else they do. Time as a resource must be provided. This kind of time to plan, implement, and evaluate can be provided in three ways. One is to take away other tasks (e.g., some competing priorities, some unnecessary meetings, some externally or internally imposed expectations, some paperwork). A second way is to provide substitute days and days before or after the contract year. A third way is more a state of mind than real time. We assume that when a staff believes it is the creator and owner of the plan, it willingly commits additional time to do the right job and to do the job right. When faced with the task of implementing a school system mandate for which it feels no ownership, we assume that a school staff tends to devote only enough time to comply.

The Improvement Process Requires Varied Strategies to Provide Support, Assistance, and Supervision

Besides time, the school-based improvement process requires support from the central and area offices. As described in the section on "systemwide support and assistance," this support has taken the form of money, time for school staffs to plan, staff to coordinate efforts, and resources to assist school staffs plan and implement better.

Just as assistance is tailored to the individual school, so is supervision. Through the monitoring activities, some schools are recognized as being on the right track. For them, little change is demanded and praise is given. Deficiencies are noted in other schools' efforts. The area superintendent supervises these schools more regularly, giving more explicit instruction and direction.

THE ROLE OF THE OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

While many departments of the school system contribute to the effort to improve minority students' achievement, this section focuses on the role of the Office of Research and Evaluation (ORE) because the activities of this office illustrate most of the basic components of the program and because I know the activities of ORE best. Much of this section could also be written about the activities of the coordinator of minority students' achievement, the area minority student achievement resource teachers, and other area and central departments.

The Office of Research and Evaluation has played a central role in monitoring the achievement of minority students and in providing support and assistance to schools. Some ORE staff monitor the indicators of achievement for the school system, for identified groups of schools, and for individual schools. They provide data and analyses of data to decision makers, produce reports on the academic progress of minority students, and discuss the implications of the findings for program activities.

Other staff in ORE provide support and assistance to individual school staffs in the development and implementation of school-based plans. The process for support and assistance is tailored to the needs of the individual school staff and, thus, is time consuming. In its highest form, and ORE staff person meets with the principal and/or member of the school staff to plan a needs assessment, discuss possible elements of the school plan, propose alternative evaluation strategies, and review drafts of the school plan. In an intermediate form, the ORE staff provides intensive assistance to schools in the development of their evaluation plans, the implementation of the plans (including methods of collecting and analyzing data), and the writing of the evaluation reports.

In its most extended form, ORE has conducted two year projects with volunteer schools. These are designed to assist school staffs increase their capacities to identify, clarify, analyze, and use factors within the school in order to develop, implement and evaluate a long range, comprehensive plan for improving student achievement with a special emphasis on minority students.[9] The framework for this effort drew freely from the experiences of the staff, from the writings of Fullan, Hall et al., Little, and Joyce and Showers on school improvement, leadership, and staff development, and from a variant of effective school projects across the country.

The major explicit tasks of the first year of the project were to help school staffs conduct a needs assessment at the school and develop a plan to address these identified needs. Behind these explicit tasks were two implicit but necessary tasks. These were to develop both readiness[10] in the staff to "own" the project and the staff skills in planning.

The formal activities of the first year included monthly meetings of the school-based planning team and two full day workshops on the planning process and planning objectives, activities, and evaluation strategies relating to identified needs. In addition, many informal meetings were held among the school staff and between members of the school staff and ORE staff. The role of the ORE staff was to initiate and develop, in conjunction with the principal, most of the planning activities for the monthly meetings and workshops; to circulate appropriate articles and otherwise link the school-based planning teams to useful resources; to develop data gathering instruments and analyze some of the needs assessment data; and generally to serve as a "sounding board" and consultant to the principal and teacher chairpersons.

By the end of the first year, each school had developed a school improvement plan. In the process, the planning committees developed strong collegial relationships, a sense of school mission to guide classroom responsibilities, ownership of the planning process and the plans, familiarity with much of the research literature, and knowledge and skills related to data collection and analysis.

The second year featured implementing the plan and evaluating activities. The major responsibility for the project shifted to the school staff. The ORE staff still conducted workshops and influenced events, but their role became more one of support than of leadership, of responder than of initiator. Major emphasis in the second year was on broadening the staff's repertoire of evaluation strategies and developing real use of selected strategies for school-based improvement. The repertoire included systematic use of peer and principal observations, teacher and student interviews, report card data, office records, basal test information, anecdotal records, instructional grouping information, teacher and principal anecdotal records, instructional grouping information, records of attendance and participation, and various types of standardized and teacher-made tests. By the end of the second year, each school had completed the first year's implementation and the first report of progress.

School-Based Evaluation is Not as Easy as It Sounds

We were surprised by how hard it was for some schools to develop school-based evaluation plans that would help them improve their programs. Use of data by school staffs to help improve instruction for students did not occur just because the data was available and technical assistance was given. Our reflections on the reasons for this difficulty may offer insight into the change process and why it is necessary to persist over time.

Talking about testing, a researcher once noted that everyone thought testing was important -- for someone else. Teachers thought testing was important for principals, principals thought testing was important for the superintendent, and the superintendent thought testing was important for teachers. But few people thought testing was important for themselves.

Similarly for evaluation, the prevailing image was hard to break. School principals and teachers generally had the view that evaluation was something done *to* them by *someone outside the school* usually with negative consequences. In planning evaluations, many of them initially focused on summative not formative evaluation, hard data not soft data, and pre-testing and post-testing. Perhaps because of the view that evaluations were negative accountability strategies, many principals tended to focus on activities they could control (e.g., number of staff development sessions held), rather than on outcomes for students or others. They tended to view evaluation as a game in which the object was to state objectives that could be accomplished.

Aaron Wildavsky, a political scientist, wrote an article, entitled "The Self-Evaluating Organization,"[11] that addresses some of these same difficulties. Wildavsky reflects on his intellectual journey-- "I started out thinking it was bad for organizations not to evaluate, and I ended up wondering why they ever do it." He explores why evaluation and organization tend to be in tension:

Evaluation and organization may be contradictory terms. Organizational structure implies stability while the process of evaluation suggests change. Organization generates commitment while evaluation inculcates skepticism. Evaluation speaks to the relationship between action and objectives while organization relates its activities to programs and clientele.[12]

As part of a school organization, then, principals and teachers were, at the least, in tension over the call to evaluate themselves.

It was only through persistent and intensive efforts that some progress was made in dealing with these tensions. Part of the success can be attributed to the distribution of a resource notebook for school-based evaluation, work-shops on the subject, technical assistance in small groups and individually, and more intensive effort such as that described in the previous section. Part of the success also resulted from persistent feedback that objectives should be stated in terms of outcomes, that use of non-test data is encouraged, that data derived from teacher journals are acceptable, and that non-attainment of objectives is more a signal to improve than to condemn. Much of the success also came from principals and teachers realizing that not only do good evaluation plans and reports gain external praise, but also that the data are useful to them as they seek to improve instruction. Finally, part of the success only came about because the ORE staff and the school staff persevered and eventually came to trust and rely on one another. Still, it would be foolish to say that self-evaluation is now the norm of the school system.

The School Improvement Process

What we experienced in the project reinforced our view that "change is a process, not an event,"[13] and that the process is a long and difficult one that requires more time and persistence than anticipated. A major reason for the length and difficulty of the process is the necessity for some basic changes to occur in the culture of the school, culture of the school system, and the perception of roles by principals and teachers. It is not easy for teachers and principals to move out of their isolation toward a sense of school community with a definite mission. It is not easy for teachers and principals to believe that they can make important decisions and to act on that belief by taking ownership of ideas and pursuing them.

It is not easy for colleagues to develop enough trust to open up areas of uncertainty, to question oneself and others, to make mistakes in front of others, to rely upon one another. It is not easy for a school staff to really believe that the central office is there to help them. It is not easy because control, compliance, hierarchy, isolation, and doing the thing right are stronger elements of the culture than school-based decision-making, collaborative planning, collegiality, mutual problem solving, and doing the right thing

Wildavsky and Judith Warren Little[14] discuss some of these difficulties and agree on some of the positive characteristics of improving and evaluating schools. Little describes "a norm of collegiality," while Wildavsky states that "an extraordinary degree of mutual trust" is a requirement of a self-evaluating organization. Our findings support that a context of trust and collegiality is a prerequisite for the honest use of data for self-evaluation.

Little also describes "expectations for analysis, evaluation, and experimentation: a norm of continuous improvement." She talks about the need for "aggressive curiosity and healthy skepticism" and concludes that "where analysis, evaluation, and experimentation are treated as tools of the profession, designed to make work better (and easier), and where such work is properly the work of the teacher, teachers can be expected to look to staff development to help provoke questions, organize analysis, generate evidence of progress, and design differences in approaches."[15] Wildavsky agrees on the need for a "climate of opinion that favors experimentation" and skepticism and states as an example that "organization members would have to be rewarded for passing on bad news."[16] Merely to state these points is enough to realize how far away most schools and school systems are. However, as Little and we have shown, in some schools such a supportive culture exists. But progress is slow. Persistence and patience is called for.

TENSIONS, ISSUES, AND DILEMMAS

Bottom-Up and Top-Down

This is purposely posed as a both-and statement. Minority students' achievement is both a top-down and a bottom-up enterprise. The trick is to know what to mandate from the top-down and what to encourage to emerge form the bottom-up. Basically we mandate from the top the expectation that minority students' achievement will improve as measured by the eight indicators, the school-based planning process and format, and a monitoring system. At the same time we encourage local school initiative and creativity. Where it is difficult to know whether to operate bottom-up or top-down include the following situations:

- Reviewers of plans and reports conclude that the efforts of the school are inadequate and can be improved. When should the principal be encouraged? When should he or she be directed? When should he or she be removed?

- When is something deemed so good that it should be used more broadly? For instance, The Skillful Teacher training has been well received and next year all schools will be involved in the training. One consideration in the selection of this model was that it is generic and not prescriptive. Thus, within its framework, it allows great flexibility to accommodate individual teacher and school differences.

- When is there a window of opportunity that must be used even if the system and the schools are not ready? For instance, at a given time, the political climate may be right, important actors in agreement, or additional funds available.

There is a natural tendency and pressure to centralize this process. However, it is important not to overcentralize. Although it may seem more efficient to direct schools to implement the same strategy, the effectiveness of such an approach is questionable. For those who monitor the program, it is easier to feel that you know what's going on if all schools are implementing the same program; and it certainly is easier to describe. The parents, community, and other external audiences can more easily understand a centralized program and thus may develop greater confidence in the effort. It is hard to persist against these pressures and tendencies, but it is important to do so.

The Pace of Change

The resolve of the school board and superintendent to expect a slow but steady improvement in minority students' achievement runs up against the pressure to show results quickly. The black and

Hispanic communities are understandably impatient. The desire to show positive results in the local and national press is also understandable, as is the desire to compete with the neighboring school systems. Pressure to do it faster, cut corners, and be more efficient is hard to resist. It is easy to understand that Wood's readiness and maintenance phases of the change process frequently are short-changed.

Researchers and the Department of Education have warned against cookbooks (Finn), recipes (D'Amico), and the list mentality (Barth). The warning is appropriate but difficult to heed.

The Definition of Minority

The focus of the program can be on different groups of students and the choice can reflect different purposes for the program. In Fairfax there has been continuing discussion of the alternatives.

The initial school board priority emphasized improvement in the achievement and aspirations of minority students. In practice, the emphasis was placed on black and Hispanic students because the data indicated that Asian students were generally doing well. The priority purposely did not emphasize low achieving students in general or low achieving minority students in particular. The priority was intended to include the moderately achieving student who could do better as well as the low achieving student.

The continuing debate resulted in a change in the annual operating objective for 1986-87. This year's objective calls for "improving the academic achievement and aspirations of underachieving students, with emphasis on meeting the needs of minority students."

Focus on Test Scores

Test scores as a measure of student achievement are accepted by a variety of audiences. Researchers use test scores to judge the effects of a new program. The newspapers feature the results of the College Boards, norm-referenced tests, and minimum competency tests and rank school systems and schools on the basis of these. Parents, realtors, and the general public want to know what the test scores are. Yet, thoughtful principals, teachers, central office staff, and researchers realize that test scores give only a partial picture of student achievement. If we want principals and teachers to take ownership of school-based evaluation, we must support the use of more than test scores as a measure of student achievement.

Fairfax consciously chose a variety of indicators of student achievement to assess the success of its efforts to improve minority students' achievement. Spokespersons consistently speak about all the systemwide indicators and the variety of school-based indicators in order to curb the powerful impulse to simplify the criteria to one only of test scores. It helps to use illustrations, such as the classic underachiever who has high test scores, uneven grades, and low attendance. It is also important to talk about what decisions are made as early as the sixth grade in order for a student to take and succeed in calculus in the twelfth grade.

A more powerful reason to emphasize indicators other than test scores may be emerging from our data. Test scores are rising, but most other indicators are not showing much, if any improvement. This may reinforce the view of the sometimes cynical principal who said that he could raise test scores, if that was what was wanted, even though student achievement would not improve. Use of multiple indicators will give a more complete picture of the changes.

Closing the Gap?

Most of the recent discussion concerning minority students' achievement talks about closing the gap between the achievement of minority students and the achievement of non-minority students. Fairfax has tried to resist this characterization of the goal. Instead, it has stated as its goal to "improve the academic aspirations and achievement of minority students." It has done this in order to compare minority students' achievement with itself or with the nation and not with other student groups in Fairfax.

An example will illustrate this difference. If the pass rate of minority students on the state minimum competency test increases by five percent, is the improvement any less if the pass rate of non-minority students also increases by five percent? For this reason, charting the change in the percent of minority students who score above the national norm on the test is more important than comparing the mean scores of minority and non-minority students.

It would be fine if the achievement of minority students improved and the gap is narrowed in comparison with non-minority students. But, the program can succeed if minority students' achievement improves even if the gap is not narrowed.

The Science and the Art of Education

> The prospectus for this symposium promised contributions to the creation of a science of education. I'm not sure my contribution will advance that cause. In my view education is more an art or craft than a science. Using creative analyses of available data is an important tool in the effort to improve the achievement of minority students and all students. But, in my view, data analysis is but one tool in the hand of a craftsman and not the most important one. My image of the good superintendent, principal, teacher, and even the director of research and evaluation is the master craftsman not the eminent scientist.

I hope that no one attempts to replicate the "Fairfax model" in their situation. What I do hope is that readers will run the ideas and experiences presented here through the filter of their experiences, values, beliefs, hunches, and situation and shape what remains into something that makes sense to them. Then, persist and be patient.

Footnotes

1. As I was finishing this paper, a new booklet appeared on my desk: Learning to Persist and Persisting to Learn written by Bessie C. Howard and published by the Mid-Atlantic Center for Race Equity in 1987. It caught my eye first because its title contained a major theme of this paper--that is persistence is a crucial factor. The booklet captured my attention because it was about improving the academic achievement of minority students. As I read the booklet, I realized that much of what it said about the conflicts between minority students and the routines and expectations of the school system could also be said about the conflicts between principals and teachers, who are instructing minority students, and the routines and expectations of the school system.

2. The background and implementation sections of this paper are adapted from three Fairfax County Public Schools reports. The first is "Minority Students' Academic Performance: A Preliminary Report"

issued in January 1984. The second is the "Report of the Advisory Committee on the Academic Performance of Minority Students in the Fairfax County Public Schools" issued in May 1984. The third is the "Report of Minority Students' Achievement for the 1985-86 School Year" issued in October 1986.

3. A useful think piece exploring a similar view in more depth is contained in Philip Schlechty's chapter, "District Level Policies and Practices Supporting Effective School Management and Classroom Instruction," in Regina Kyle's (editor) book, Reaching for Excellence: An Effective Schools. Sourcebook, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985.

4. A description of a bottom-up activity in Fairfax County and thoughts on how to encourage more such activities is contained in a paper, "Bottom-Up from the Top-Down," by Todd Endo, and published in Reflections, a journal of the National Network of Principal Centers. Copies can be obtained from the author.

5. "Annual Report on the Achievement and Aspirations of Minority Students in the Fairfax County Public Schools," Office of Research and Evaluation, October 1986, Executive Summary.
6. Annual Report, Executive Summary, 1986.

7. Saphier, Jon and Gower, Robert, The Skillful Teacher Carlisle, MA: Research for Better Teaching, Inc., 1982.

8. A very thoughtful description and analysis of various models for school improvement and the development of effective schools is contained in Larry Cuban, "Transforming a Frog into the Prince: Effective Schools Research, Policy, and Practice at the District Level," a report for NIE (June 1983).
9. This section is a summary of a more extensive informal report, "Effective Schools Project Report, "written by the major developers of the project, Ann Cricchi and Mike Harrison of the Office of Research and Evaluation.

10. The term, "readiness", is used in the context of the RPTIM (readiness, planning, training, implementation, and maintenance) model described by Fred Wood et al. in "Practitioners and Professors

THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Monitoring and Improving School Learning

Walter Hathaway
Portland Public Schools

Introduction

One of the greatest challenges facing American education in the second half of the 20th century has been the differences in achievement among students of different ethnic groups. Today, 33 years after Brown vs. Topeka, and 22 years after the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 propelled our nation along the road to equitable and excellent education for all children, there are signs that the achievement of minority students is beginning to catch up with that of nonminority students on a nationwide basis. The remaining gaps in achievement test scores and other indicators of student performance, however, are still large and perplexing. Excellent and innovative educational assessment and progress reporting has and can help us respond to that challenge both by targeting instruction on specific student needs and by focusing the attention of policy makers and other problem-solvers on the larger underlying issues. Dr. Ron Edmonds pointed to this promise of assessment in his seminal work on school effectiveness when he included "frequent assessment" as one of the key factors in improving schooling for all students but particularly for previously under-achieving minority children. (Edmonds, 1979)

The Portland, Oregon school district has pioneered a number of improvements in achievement testing and test results reporting that have helped teachers improve the performance of all students while reducing the achievement differences among students of differing background. The Portland district also is one of those who have begun to use test and evaluation data disaggregated by ethnic group to identify and respond to the needs of previously underachieving minority students by improving programs, policies, and resource allocations.

This paper first summarizes some of the national data on student achievement test results by ethnic groups. It then briefly describes some of the innovative features of the Portland testing program that have helped improve the effectiveness and equity of instruction. Finally it reports why and how the Portland School System has begun reporting and using disaggregated student and system data at each of the key levels in the system, what some of our initial findings have been, and what some of the effects of such reporting have been.

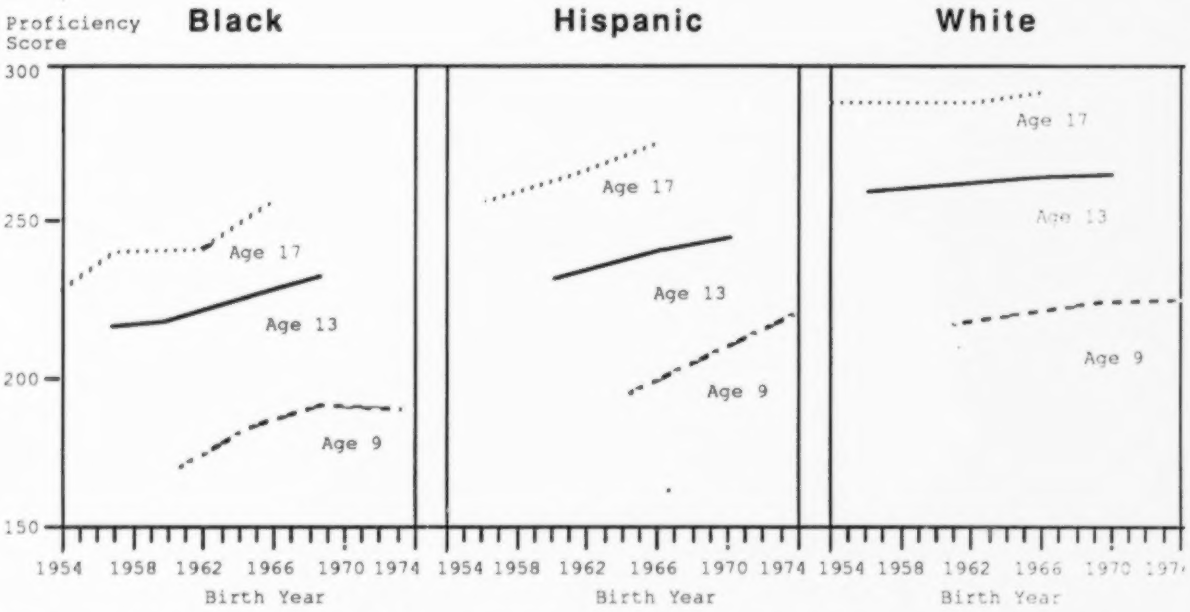
The National Achievement Gap

According to a recent report by the U.S. Congressional Budget Office, there is evidence from a variety of tests administered to students of various ages in different localities that:

> Recent years have seen a shrinking of the long-standing difference between the scores of Black and nonminority students on a variety of achievements tests. The evidence pertaining to other ethnic groups is more limited but there are suggestions of relative gains by Hispanic students as well. While the change has been small relative to the remaining gap between the minority and nonminority students, it has been consistent from year to year and could prove substantial over the long run (U.S. Congressional Budget Office, 1986, pp. 74-75). (See Figure 1)

Figure 1

Trends in Average Reading Proficiency for White, Black and Hispanic Students, by Birth Year



SOURCE: National Assessment of Educational Process, The Reading Report Card (Princeton: NAEP/Eductional Testing Service, 1985), Data Appendix.

Although this Congressional Budget Office report raises cautions about the limitations of the data upon which this trend is based, its authors conclude that the patterns observed seem genuine[1]

For example, they observe that in general, it appears that the average scores of students:

- Declined less than those of nonminority students during the later years of the general decline;
- Stopped declining, or began increasing again, earlier; and
- Rose at a faster rate after the general upturn in achievement began.

Recent evidence of progress toward diminishing the national achievement gap has, however, only begun to mute the sad, national litany of indicators of the severe educational achievement disadvantage of many minority children. *It goes beyond* achievement data and includes:

- The dropout rate for minority students is as high as 80 percent, versus a national average of less than 20 percent for nonminority students.
- Minority students are often two to three or more grade levels behind on achievement measures. For example, the Southern Regional Education Board reports that on National Assessment Tests, "The reading achievement levels of Black eleventh-grade students is basically the same as for White seventh graders." (SREB, 1986, p. iv.)
- In 1985 Black students had SAT Mathematics and Verbal scores that were 115 and 103 points lower than White students. Hispanic student scores were 65 and 67 points lower.
- Black students are approximately three times as likely to be in a class for the educable mentally retarded but only half as likely to be in a class for the gifted and talented as White students.
- Only about one-third of the estimated 2.7 million limited-English-proficient students aged 5 to 14 receive special help congruent with their linguistic needs.
- Black and Hispanic students are two to three times as likely to be suspended or expelled and only half as likely to be enrolled in courses that lead to a college education.

And the list goes on.

Almost daily the Superintendents, Boards of Education, staffs, and communities of school systems such as those represented in today's symposium find themselves searching for answers to the serious and complex questions of equity, efficiency, and excellence in education posed by such differences. Their colleagues in other districts throughout the nation share this quest. The encouraging nationwide trends in reducing the achievement gap are due in large measure to such efforts.

The questions that continuously emerge as we strive to develop policies and programs to improve the academic and social performance of all our students and to regain the confidence and support of our publics include:

- How to improve student motivation and behavior and thus reduce such crippling and costly problems as dropouts, absenteeism, violence, and vandalism?
- How to better assess and improve the performance of our students and the effectiveness and success of our programs?
- How to better identify and respond to the needs of special student populations; e.g., the disadvantaged, the handicapped, bilingual and multicultural, gifted and talented?
- How to better select for and support improved staff competence in helping students gain academic, instructional, social, and personal skills?
- How to better gain and equitably utilize funding for our systems that is adequate and secure?
- How to improve communication with and involvement of our parents and community?

Answers to these pressing problems of education may be discovered if we continue to work toward creating:

- Accurate, accessible, and timely data on the nature and extent of the needs of our students;
- Valid, reliable, and efficient measures of the progress our students are making so that we can identify the programs and practices that help them overcome the impediments to success in school; and
- Field-based as well as fundamental research on new teacher and technology-based approaches to enhancing the productivity of instruction and schooling in responding to our students' needs.

The Portland, Oregon school district is one of those which has taken the data-based research and evaluation approach to defining and seeking answers to the perplexing educational, social, moral and political problems of differences in average levels of student achievement among student groups of differing ethnic backgrounds.

The Portland Experience

It was to help us answer questions such as the above that led the Portland, Oregon school district to develop an innovative testing system and to begin analyzing and reporting student achievement data as well as other student performance and status data by ethnic group.

Testing and Test Results Reporting Innovations

A decade and a half ago, a small group of researchers and test developers in the Portland, Oregon School District realized the potential of Item Response Theory for developing tools for better educational measurement.

The purposes we wanted our citywide testing programs to support included equitable, effective, efficient, valid, and reliable:

- Grouping and placing students
- Targeting instruction on individual student learning needs
- Evaluating student progress over time
- Identifying neglected areas of the aligned curriculum and evaluating and improving programs and services at the student, classroom, grade within school, and grade within district levels
- Providing accountability to the school board and the community

In order to meet these needs, we needed an educational measurement system that would answer the following questions:

- Is the current *rate of gain* of this student, class, grade, or program satisfactory compared to his/her/its age, grade, program mates and the previous pattern of gains observed?

- What are the current *strengths and weaknesses* (in terms of goal areas needing further diagnosis and possible work) of this student, class, grade, school, or program, and how have they changed over time?

- Is the *level* at which this student, class, grade, or program currently performing satisfactory compared to his/her/its age, grade, or program mates and the previous pattern of levels observed?

We could not find any available measurement program that would help us answer these questions and meet these needs adequately, and so we set out to build one ourselves.

There followed a period of extensive collaborative research and development, much of it within the framework of the Northwest Evaluation Association, which was created to foster regional cooperation in and mutual benefit from this effort. The result today is a system of three comprehensive basic skills Rasch calibrated item banks in Reading, Mathematics, and Language Usage. The constantly growing item banks in Reading and Language Usage each have over 2,000 field-tested, calibrated items linked to a common, continuous curriculum scale for each subject. The Mathematics item bank now has over 3,000 such items. State and local school systems including Portland have been using these item banks since 1977 to construct effective, efficient survey achievement tests, competency tests, and other instruments that combine the best qualities of criterion-referenced and norm-referenced measurement. These excellent measurement systems have been the cornerstones of state, district and school renewal efforts that anticipated "A Nation at Risk" (Gardner, 1983) by at least five years. The ongoing collaboration is now resulting in similar item banks in Science and Direct Writing, and yet another in Social Studies is on the drawing board.

Some of the characteristics of the testing and test reporting system developed by the Portland School District which improve school and classroom effectiveness include:

- Matches the local curriculum.

- Emphasizes student gain over time (rather than just level of performance at the current time).

- Gives every student a challenging testing experience at which he or she will succeed (functioning level testing).
- Reports goal areas in which students may need help as well as overall performance in each subject.
- Monitors student progress toward mastery of graduation competency requirements starting with the beginning of third grade.
- Invites parent involvement with teachers in planning to help students learn better.

Two additional computer-based testing and test reporting innovations on which we are working are:

1. Offering district-wide a school-based microprocessor test reporting system. Over the past two years, a group of seven principals, along with the data processing department and the research and evaluation department, have worked to develop this computer system for local building controlled reporting and analysis of test data. The pilot system began with four goals in mind. We were interested in finding a program that would run on building microcomputers that would accomplish the following:
    a. Provide a complete individual student test history to building staff immediately on request.
    b. Produce test reports by instructional group.
    c. Provide analyses of longitudinal student group data when and as the building needed them, and
    d. Improve the turnaround time of test reports.

We now have a program which gives local buildings the ability to meet these four goals and we have offered it to all schools in the district.

2. Creating a school-based computer adaptive testing system which allows building personnel to continuously monitor the progress of students as they advance through the basic skills curriculum. This system involves putting a sufficient bank of field-tested

and calibrated items inside a computer along with the requisite software to build a unique, individualized test for each student at the time when building staff feel it is needed.

The advantages of this system include:

- Increased measurement accuracy
- Increased testing flexibility
- Improved use of testing as an integral part of the instructional process
- Enhanced test security
- Decreased testing time
- Increased ability to measure high-level educational goals such as problem solving
- Immediate feedback of results

Our research and evaluation department has mounted the pilot CAT program in cooperation with the information services department, directors of instruction, and principals. The purpose of this pilot is to gain the information necessary to design a cost-effective CAT system that will serve the future testing needs of all our students and our schools.

Tested theories of effective education now reveal what we must do to improve schools and to help every child learn as much as he or she can as effectively and efficiently as possible. They indicate that our educational leadership must support the development of learning environments in which the following sorts of things happen for each of our students:

- His or her current, most pressing learning needs within a well planned curriculum, must be identified.

- The student must be helped to set clear, relevant, attainable learning objectives to meet those needs.

- He or she must be expected to succeed in attaining the learning objectives and must want to learn them.

- The student must receive individualized instruction directly related to the learning objectives designed to meet his or her current learning needs.

- The learner must use the time allocated for instruction to work intently and seriously on the task of learning.

- The student must know when he or she has succeeded and when not, and must experience a reinforcing sense of accomplishment and achievement as a result of knowledge of success.

- The learner must receive and return a sense of caring, personal concern, interest, respect, and commitment which provides the psychological support necessary to want to learn and to work to learn, and finally

- The student must receive and accept parental and community support and encouragement for success in learning.

The main barrier to our putting such models of effective instruction and education into practice up until now has been the lack of accurate data and information about:

- Each student's individual learning-needs.

- What learning activities and experiences are matched to diagnosed student needs and to established learning objectives and how to help the student engage in such tailored instruction in a timely fashion.

- When the student has mastered the objectives and is ready to move on.

- The degree of overall success of staff and programs in promoting student learning, and

- What is and is not working to help students learn.

We are now, however, at long last beginning to evolve the comprehensive assessment and information systems needed in order to create the more effective, equitable, and efficient education systems required for real and meaningful educational reform and even reinvention of schooling.

Guiding Values, Principles, and Goals of the Portland Effort

The Portland initiative in using assessment data to improve school effectiveness, especially for under-achieving minority students, is founded upon the following values, principles, and goals:

- **All students can learn.**

We categorically reject the suggestions in some quarters that the observed differences in the achievement levels of students of various backgrounds are intrinsic. Instead we believe that the barriers to high levels of achievement by all students are surmountable and that research-based solutions can be used to create schools in which all students achieve at levels which will help them be productive members of society while meeting their personal goals.

- **Helping all students learn up to their maximum potential will require complex solutions to complex problems. There are no simple solutions or panaceas.**

We recognize that the existing research on obstacles to student achievement indicates that the underlying problems are:

> often long-term - beginning as early as the prenatal environment; and both complex and pervasive - with elements being found in the home, community, peer, and school environments and cultures.

We have resisted the temptation to extrapolate from current trends and to project when the "achievement gap" will be closed. We are using the best data available at each level in the system to understand why some students are not currently making the progress or performing at the levels we hope and we are developing and carrying out collaboratively developed plans to raise the achievement of each individual student and each student group now lagging behind.

- **Teachers, principals, students, and parents are vital partners in this effort.**

Disaggregated Reporting

A key event in the maturing of this commitment was the decision of Superintendent Matthew Prophet and the Board of Education in 1985 to begin issuing an annual report entitled *A Statistical Portrait of the Multicultural/Multiethnic Student Population in Portland Public Schools.*

This report represents only the "tip of the iceberg" of the district disaggregated data reporting system which extends to every level of the school district. It pulls together relevant district-wide analyses of data on culturally diverse children in Portland Public Schools to assist district decision makers in developing a general understanding of the status of these children in the district. The district-wide report presents findings in which the district bases planning of its efforts to address concerns regarding culturally diverse children. Similar data is reported and used at the program, building, and classroom levels. This promotes problem identification and solving at each key level in the system.

At the district level the availability of disaggregated data helps the Superintendent, the Board of Education and the Administration to work with the community to muster resources and to formulate and monitor efforts to raise the achievement and education levels of all students, especially those lagging behind. Data-based research and evaluation on the causes of and solutions to problems causing lack of educational progress become possible at every level. Program directors and building managers are helped to monitor and improve their units' efforts to bring about improvements. Teachers and others directly involved in instruction can evaluate and improve the effectiveness of their efforts to help all student groups and individual students progress through the curriculum. It is reasons such as these that have led Portland to take research, evaluation, and assessment-based approaches to understand and respond to the needs of under-achieving minority students.

This district-wide report of data disaggregated by ethnic group was undertaken in collaboration with the district's Desegregation Monitoring Advisory Committee, a consortium of representatives of community groups concerned about equitable and excellent education and for education that is truly multicultural. The District's Management Information Systems group coordinated the data collection, analyses and reporting effort. The assistance of the

Northwest Regional Laboratory was obtained in designing and developing the initial report.

The Portland Findings

The Portland School District registers its students as American Indian, White, Black, Asian or Hispanic. For the 1986-87 school year, the student enrollment was 73.0 percent White, 15.3 percent Black, 7.5 percent Asian, 2.1 percent Hispanic and 2.1 percent American Indian. The district has enjoyed a high level of desegregation and has never been under a court order to desegregate. It does have a voluntary desegregation/integration plan focused on improving student achievement and a Desegregation Monitoring Advisory Committee composed of representatives of community groups having a stake in educational equity and excellence.

In developing our district-wide Statistical Portrait of the Multicultural/Multiethnic Student Population in the Portland Public Schools to symbolize and carry out our commitment to collaborative problem identification and solving with our community, we used a variety of sources to identify areas of district-wide concern regarding culturally diverse children. These included concerns expressed by the lay public and local school personnel. In addition we conducted an extensive review of the current literature and media stories to gain a broader perspective on concerns of local relevance. Through this process, we have identified the following five general areas for analysis:

- *Student Achievement.* At what levels do culturally diverse children in the district demonstrate achievement?
- *Program Access.* To what extent do culturally diverse children participate in district programs?
- *Multicultural Curriculum.* In what ways does the district's curriculum address appreciation and knowledge of one's own culture or the cultures of others?
- *Teaching Personnel.* To what extent does the district's teaching staff reflect the cultural diversity of its students?
- *Policy Representation.* Do groups which formulate district policies reflect the cultural diversity of the students?

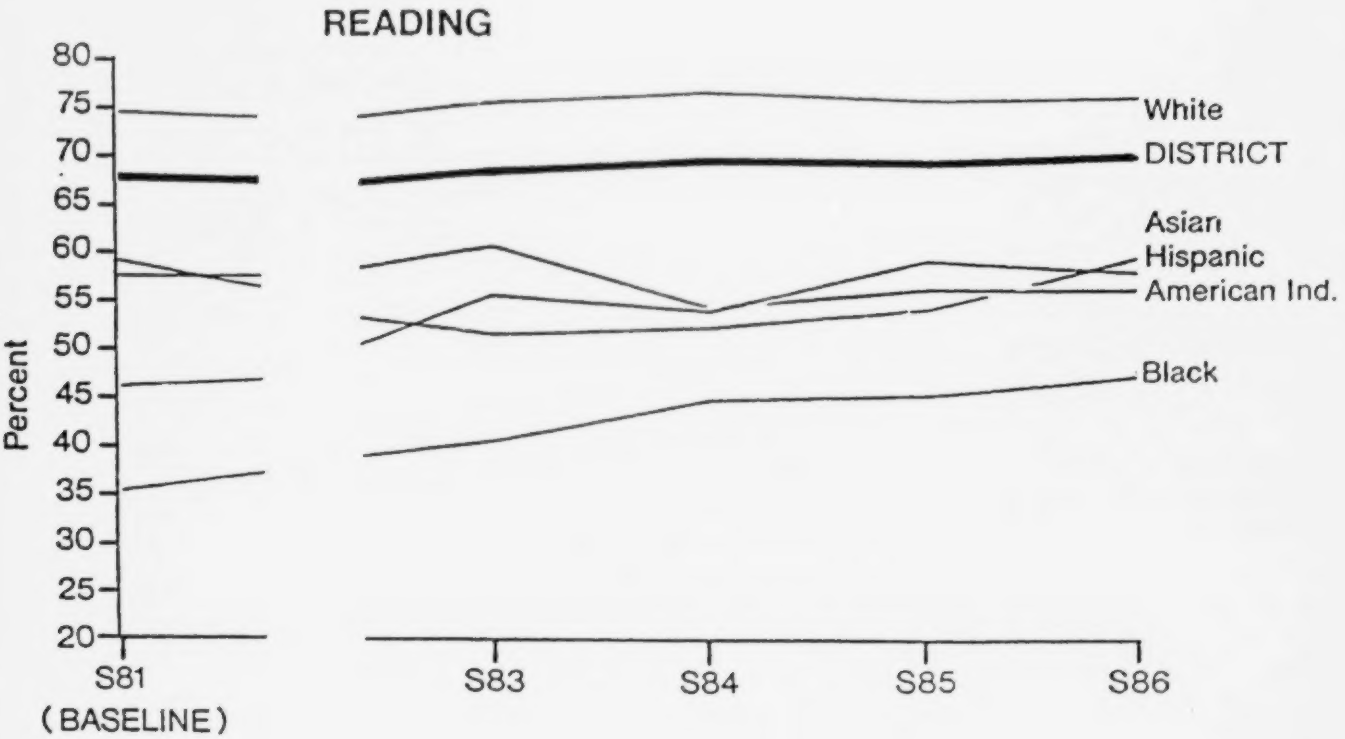
The report itself does not attempt to deal with the causes of the conditions it profiles. Instead, it presents an honest and accurate statistical portrait of culturally diverse children in the district on selected variables for which data are available by ethnic group. The problem identification and solution process is inspired and guided by the data in the profile. A summary of findings follows to convey the nature and the power of the data presented. This data is revealed in far greater detail in the district's profile report and is articulated further at program, building and classroom levels where it is used as an integral part of school and classroom improvement, evaluation and planning.

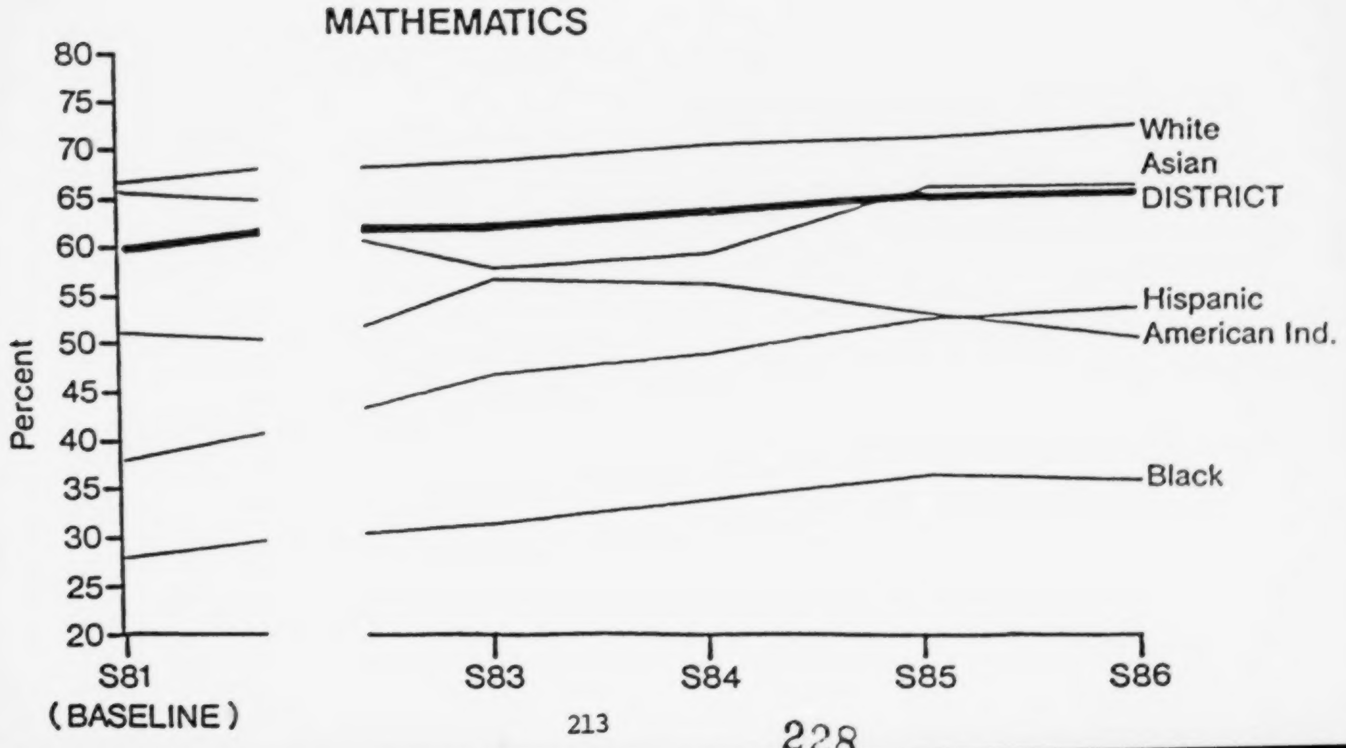
Student Achievement.

We looked at five student achievement indicators: test scores, school grades, absences, dropouts and suspensions. In general, results from the elementary Portland Achievement Levels Tests showed that White students had a higher level of achievement test scores than other ethnic groups in both reading and mathematics. Minority groups, particularly Blacks, showed lower levels of scores. Longitudinal data obtained from the 1980-81 through 1985-86 school years, however, provided some evidence that while the average levels of minority student scores were lower than the average levels of White student scores, the differences were generally becoming smaller over the years. Minority students have been making, in many cases, greater gains within a school year than White students. The result has been a convergence upon and in many cases surpassing of the national average as well as a trend toward closing of the "achievement gap" in many instances (see Figure 2).

FIGURE 2

GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF THE PERCENT OF PORTLAND PUBLIC SCHOOLS ELEMENTARY STUDENTS ABOVE NATIONAL TEST PUBLISHERS NORMS.





Approximately 7.6 percent of high school seniors were ineligible to receive a standard high school diploma this year due to their inability to pass the district's basic skills Graduation Standards Tests (GST). This was up from 5.8 percent in 1984-85 and 6.0 percent in 1983-84. A generally disproportionate percentage of the students not passing the district's Graduation Standards Test have been minority students. This disproportion has been, however, declining. It has occurred primarily among those Asian students who were recent Southeast Asian refugees. In 1983-84, 52.3 percent of the students not passing the GST were Asian; in 1984-85, this dropped to 50.2 percent; and in 1985-86 the percentage dropped substantially to 35.5 percent. The percentage of Black students not passing the GST has also decreased over the past three years. In 1983-84, 22.8 percent were Black; in 1984-85, the percentage had dropped to 18.6; and 1985-86, 17.3 were Black. The number of Hispanic and of American Indian students not passing the Graduation Standards Test has been consistently low over the past three years.

Asian and White students received the highest percentage (34.0 and 25.2 respectively) of A's and the lowest percentage (5.2 and 10.2 respectively) of F's in their schoolwork. In proportion, Blacks received the smallest percentage of A's (13.3 percent) and American Indians had the largest percentage of F's (20.5 percent).

Asian students have the highest GPA and averaged a total GPA of 2.80 (A B-). White students had the second highest GPA and averaged 2.43 (A C+). Hispanic, American Indian, and Black students averaged a total GPA of about 2.0 (A C).

Asian students showed the smallest number of class absences, averaging 3.5 absences in the first class of the day during the second quarter of 1986-87. American Indians, Blacks and Hispanics had above average class absences during the same period of time. White students averaged 5.2 absences, the same as the district average.

There has been a general decrease in the rates in which students have dropped out of school in any one school year. Asian students showed the lowest dropout rate, averaging 5.1 percent for 1985-86. American Indians had higher dropout rates, averaging 13.0 percent for the same year. Dropout rates for White and Hispanic students were close to the district average of 7.3 percent. Black students' dropout rates were well below the district's, averaging 6.0 percent for the 1985-86 school year.

The percentage of high school graduates differed substantially among the ethnic groups. Hispanic, White, and Black seniors demonstrated higher than average rates of graduation (96, 90, 89 percent, respectively). American Indian and Asian seniors had a slightly lower than average rate of high school graduation.

Suspension rates have generally declined over the past several years for most ethnic groups. Black students, however, still showed a relatively high rate, averaging 5.9 percent for 1985-86 as compared with the district average of 3.7 percent. Asian students had the lowest rate, averaging only 1.2 percent for the same year. Hispanic and White students showed suspension rates lower than the district average. American Indian students' suspension rates were up during the 1985-86 school year, but numbers of American Indian students suspended are so small that percentages are generally not consistent from year to year.

Program Access.

In this analysis, we examined six program areas: talented and gifted programs, high school magnet programs, special education programs, ESL/bilingual programs, Chapter I programs and Project SEED.

Asian and White students showed the highest participation in TAG. Their rates, 8.5 and 8.1 percent respectively in 1986-87, were more than twice as high as those of other ethnic groups. American Indian, Black and Hispanic students had a participation rate of about 3 percent.

Black students have the highest participation in the magnet programs, averaging 11.2 percent in 1986-87. Hispanic students also showed an above average rate of 9.3 percent for that year. Participation rates of American Indian, White, and Asian students were slightly below the district average of 8.6 percent.

There was a slight increase in special education enrollment through 1984-85 and since then there has been a slight decline. In 1986-87, the percentages of American Indian (12.3 percent) and Black (12.8 percent) students receiving special education services were higher than those of the other ethnic groups. Asian students, on the other hand, had the lowest rate of participation, averaging 2.2

percent. Enrollment of White and Hispanic students was slightly below the district average of 8.5 percent.

For the 1986-87 school year, Black participation in Chapter I (22.6 percent for reading and 17.0 percent for math) was more than twice as high as the district averages of 10.1 and 6.7 percent. Participation rates for Asian, American Indian and Hispanic students were higher than the district average. White students had the smallest enrollment in Chapter I, averaging 7.0 percent for reading and 4.2 percent for math.

In proportion, more Black students were enrolled in Project SEED than any other ethnic group. Their participation rate of 7.3 percent for 1986-87 was more than four times as high as the district average of 1.6. Asian, White, and American Indian students had the lowest rate, averaging approximately 0.5 percent. Hispanic students were close to the district average at 1.7 percent.

Multicultural Curriculum.

The district appears to have made a concerted effort to strengthen its multicultural curriculum. The Curriculum Department has identified six major geocultural groups which have contributed to the American cultures. It has used this categorization to organize its multicultural curriculum. Each of the eight core curriculum areas has goals and objectives for teaching content that is multicultural with specific reference to the six major geocultural groups. The department has developed a cross-referenced grid linking existing planning documents, instructional materials, and key cultural concepts with the major ethnic groups.

In addition, the Educational Media Department, through the district's Professional Library, its Central Audiovisual Library, and individual school media centers, provides resources for both teachers and students in multicultural education. And the ESL/Bilingual program provides new student orientation, appreciation and support for home language and culture, and awareness of American's multicultural society; it has developed curriculum materials for students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

Teaching Personnel.

At each individual school, the ethnic distribution of teachers somewhat corresponds with that of its students. Schools with an above average percentage of one group of students often have an above average percentage of teachers of the same group. Looking at the district as a whole, however, one finds a consistent pattern of discrepancies. Except for White students, teacher percentages are generally less than one-half of the respective student percentages. There is a discernible pattern that teachers of groups other than Whites are under-represented in the teaching staff. The discrepancies between teacher and student ethnic distribution are most pronounced at the high school level. In addition, for the past two years nearly 90% of all newly hired teachers have been White in spite of intensified efforts to recruit minority candidates.

Policy Representation.

We have reviewed the ethnic composition of district central administration, school principals, Citizens Advisory Committees (CACs) and the Desegregation Monitoring Advisory Committee (DMAC). The data indicate that three groups (American Indian, Asian and Hispanic) were consistently under-represented in such policy groups. Blacks were over-represented in central administration and DMAC but under-represented in CACs.

In each area of review, the district has developed plans to improve the education of its culturally diverse children. For example, the district will expand the levels testing to include more subject areas (e.g., science and social studies) and grade levels. It will continue to review test items and testing procedures for potential bias and develop more sophisticated ways of analyzing data on student growth. In addition, the district is working on data systems which will allow for longitudinal tracking and analysis of student data on school grades, absences, dropouts and suspensions.

To improve program functions and outcomes, the district is reviewing and analyzing ways in which it has operated its special programs, including TAG, magnet, special education, ESL/bilingual, Chapter I, and Projects SEED and MESA.

The Curriculum Department has developed a series of plans to revise and expand its multicultural resources and materials as well as in-service training for teachers.

The Personnel Department is working to find ways of attracting and retaining minority teachers.

The Superintendent is working with several community groups in an effort to encourage and support involvement of our culturally diverse citizens in school district affairs.

Syntheses

Table 1 presents the difference between the averages for each ethnic group and the district averages on the variables studied. For student achievement data, ethnic group averages are compared with averages for all students. For program access data, participation rates of each ethnic group are compared with the district participation rates.

Comparing ethnic group and district averages provides a picture of above district achievement, below district achievement, over-representation, and under-representation. In Table 1, a plus sign indicates that the ethnic group is higher than the district average; a minus sign indicates the group is below the district average.

TABLE 1
SUMMARY INFORMATION ON CULTURALLY DIVERSE STUDENT GROUPS
1986-87

Variable	American Indian	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
8th Grade Reading:					
Level	-	+	-	-	-
Gain	+	-	+	+	+
8th Grade Math:					
Level	-	+	-	+	-
Gain	+	-	-	+	+
Passing Graduation Standards Tests	+	+	-	-	-
School Grades:					
A's	-	+	-	+	-
F's	+	-	+	-	+
Class Absences	+	-	+	-	+
Graduation Ratio	-	+	-	+	+

TABLE 1 (CONT.)
SUMMARY INFORMATION ON CULTURALLY DIVERSE STUDENT GROUPS
1986-87

Variable	American Indian	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic
Dropout Rates	+	+	+	-	+
Suspension Rates	+	-	+	-	-
Program Access:					
TAG	-	+	-	+	-
Magnet	-	-	+	-	+
Special Ed. (84-85)	+	-	+	-	-
Chapter I	+	-	+	+	+
SEED	+	-	+	-	-
Teaching Personnel:					
Elementary	-	+	-	-	-
Middle	-	+	-	-	-
High	-	+	-	-	-
Policy Representation:					
Administration	-	+	+	-	-
Principal	-	+	-	-	-
CAC	-	+	-	-	-
DMAC	-	-	+	-	-

Note: Only the most recent data are included in summary.

+ = Above district average
- = Below district average

As the district-wide synthesis in Table 1 indicates, there are still significant discrepancies in indicators of student performance among student ethnic groups in the Portland School District. Although, as noted earlier, some progress has been made in reducing lag in achievement test score level by greater gains by minority student groups, the most encouraging progress is indicated by other indicators such as reduced dropout and suspension rates. The key philosophical and procedural difference is that we are using such data at all appropriate levels throughout the system to plan, implement and monitor the success of efforts to reduce discrepancies. One key early benefit of this open data sharing has been an improvement in the climate of community relations.

Some of the major causes of this improved success of our students and our school system are the implementation of carefully screened and piloted specific programs and implementation of the general effective schools philosophy including:

- Improved classroom management aimed at helping students become more motivated and more responsible for their behavior and their learning. This results in fewer interruptions for teachers and students and more time on the task of learning.

- Clear and high goals for achievement in the basics and beyond. Our teachers know what they want students to learn and students understand what is expected of them.

- Well selected and appropriately challenging curriculum materials, instructional systems and learning tasks.

- Instruction designed to challenge every student to succeed and targeted on his or her current diagnosed learning needs. Such individualized and personalized instruction brings out the best in each learner.

- Effective and efficient special programs aimed at helping teachers meet the special needs of students.

- Partnerships with parents and with community groups in supporting student learning.

- Prompt, accurate and frequent feedback to students, parents, teachers, support staff, program personnel, District managers, and policy makers on the success of their efforts at learning and at fostering learning.

- Systematic recognition, rewards and incentives for excellence in the level of achievement and progress in learning.

Conclusion

A variety of theories and hypotheses have been advanced to explain the observed differences in performance by various groups of students. Environmental theories held sway in the 1950's and 1960's, with an emphasis on family and school environments. These theories gave rise to the school desegregation and compensatory education movements. In the late sixties theories of cultural difference were developed. These paved the way for the multiethnic/multicultural movement of the 1970's and 1980's. A parallel development during the same period has been the emergence of the mastery learning and effective schools' movements with their emphasis on the ability of all students to succeed given clear and high expectations, emphasis on the basics, a safe and orderly learning environment, instructional leadership, and regular monitoring and reporting of student and program success. (Edmonds, 1979)

The fact remains that there are considerable differences in the observed average levels of academic achievement of students of different ethnic groups as early as first grade or even kindergarten. While research has established that much of the observed differences are correlated with socio-economic variables and while recent trends point to above average gains for previously low achieving student groups there is still much to be done to understand and deal with differences in student and system achievement and performance levels and with the subtle and complex educational and social issues that underlie them.

The steps being taken by Portland give hope of data based and measurement supported understanding and progress. We are developing and sharing with our staff, students and communities honest, accurate information on the performance of student groups and we are using that information to plan change and to monitor student and program success. As much as we would all like things to be perfect, as educational managers and as educators, we are responsible for knowing what is the case, in working to make things as good as we can, and for knowing when, why and how we have succeeded and failed and then trying to do better next time.

The staff of the Portland Public Schools are proud that we have risen and are continuing to rise to the difficult challenge posed by student performance differences between student ethnic groups. In general our efforts have been well received by our community which welcomes accurate, timely and freely available information on how their children are doing and who value the new opportunities we are creating to work together to improve education for all students.

Footnote

1. In a recent report (June, 1987) Lyle Jones questions whether young black children in impoverished rural and urban areas are participating in the overall closing of the Reading NAEP Achievement Gap.

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THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

The Need to Assess Multiple Crucial Components in Evaluating Programs

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My goal in this brief paper will be to provide several illustrations of the importance of attending to multiple crucial components of effective programs and determining how they may fit together to improve instruction for disadvantaged minority students. Such attention is critical in the identification, design, implementation, and evaluation of effective programs.

One useful recent example of the general problems that arise in identifying and assessing crucial components has been provided in a "best-evidence" analysis of mastery learning research carried out by Bob Slavin of Jon Hopkins University. Zeroing in on technically-competent studies that compared mastery learning with traditional instructional sequences, Bob concluded that mastery learning generally has not produced large, generalizable achievement gains in controlled experimental implementations.

This important finding points (in my mind) to the likelihood that mastery learning along will not help low achieving students in poverty schools or elsewhere unless it is implemented in conjunction with other key changes such as effective curriculum alignment and reorganization, if necessary, in grouping arrangements. In my experience, some schools that have attended to such imperatives as part of a unified approach to improvement have been successful in substantially raising student achievement through mastery learning. In short, mastery learning may be a crucial component in some successful efforts to improve achievement, but it alone is not sufficient to assure program effectiveness. Rather, a multiplicity of crucial components is required.

Rather than negating the potential utility of mastery learning, Bob's results can be viewed as helping to call attention to the concomitant changes that must be made if mastery learning is to be a useful component in a school improvement project. Unfortunately, his results likely will be used by some readers to support the conclusion that mastery learning cannot be helpful in improving the achievement of disadvantaged students.

One useful way to articulate the larger issue of multiple crucial components is to pose and try to answer a few questions as follow:

Q If mastery learning or any single treatment by itself, does not improve students' achievement, does not mean it is not potentially potent in helping to improve achievement?

A: No. Successful mastery learning at poverty schools requires, among other things, implementation in conjunction with unusually effective organizational arrangements for low achievers. (One possibility involves very small classes for students functioning very poorly.) In addition, by definition mastery learning requires more time to provide corrective instruction for low achievers. If mastery learning when properly implemented in conjunction with appropriate changes in organization and scheduling of instruction yields large achievement gains, then mastery learning can be an important approach for improving achievement. An exact analogy would be a medical treatment in which exercise and medication together, but neither separately, reduced subsequent incidence of heart attacks.

Q What then can we learn about the effects of potentially important instructional changes when we vary conditions in order to test them in isolation?

A: Only whether they are effective in isolation, not whether they can be combined with other changes to produce improvement. Since instruction takes place in the complex setting of schools and classrooms, few if any innovations are likely to produce sustained and substantial improvement unless part of a larger effort to impact the larger setting. It is well established, for example, that substantial staff development, together with motivation to participate in it, is a prerequisite for successfully implementing a serious innovation. Given this interdependence, one should not reject an innovation after assessing its effects in settings with inadequate staff development or insufficient incentives and support.

Q: Is mastery learning the only instructional sequence available for improving the achievement of disadvantaged students? Is there a single best approach?

A: Obviously not. In fact, most of the unusually successful poverty schools I have seen or learned about have not used mastery learning as defined by James Block, Benjamin Bloom, S. Alan Cohen, Thomas Guskey, or other leaders in this field. In addition, I have not been able to find inner city senior high schools (or hardly any other high schools, for that matter) which have introduced mastery learning successfully on a school-wide basis. On the other hand, successful inner city schools of necessity do use some approach to "mastery-type" learning, i.e. their faculty go to whatever lengths are necessary to make sure that nearly all their students make progress in mastering agreed-upon learning objectives. Within this context, when mastery learning as defined by Bloom and others is implemented well, it does offer some particular advantages in terms of focusing instruction more effectively on the learning problems of initial low achievers.

A related problem occurs in situations in which the set of changes or variables one is assessing through research does not include those that actually were most important in bringing about improvement. One example of this occurred in the series of sub-studies which researchers at the old U.S. Office of Education conducted using data from the EEO study directed by James Coleman. Because the questionnaire administered at schools participating in the study did not include good items dealing with the leadership of the principal, there was no possibility that this variable could show up well in the sub-study that contrasted unusually effective and ineffective schools.

Another possible example along these lines may be present in some of the publications prepared by personnel in the San Diego Unified School District. San Diego has carried out probably the most successful program in the United States for improving the performance of students attending concentrated poverty schools -- the Achievement Goals Program (AGP). The descriptions I have seen of the AGP unusually cite four main components: increased time on task; direct instruction; improved classroom management; and mastery learning.

However, there are reasons to believe that an equally or even more important intervention involved a radical curriculum change which removed basal readers from classrooms so that teachers no longer could proceed page-by-page at the pace of the slowest student. (This intervention is only hinted at in some descriptions of the four components.) If this intervention indeed was critical, as there is reason to believe it was implementation of an AGP-like program elsewhere in the absence of radical curriculum alignment could result in non-transportability along with severe disappointment and discrediting of the four useful components identified as part of the program.

Among the implications of the preceding discussion are that program evaluation generally requires some attention to implementation analysis, whether formally labelled in this way or not, and that evaluators should have substantial knowledge of and familiarity with the schools at which they assess programs.

On the first point, it is apparent that evaluators must understand what schools actually are doing to implement program components and to overcome obstacles to effective implementation, if components crucial to success are to be identified for the analysis.

Regarding the need for evaluators to acquire in-depth knowledge of how programs actually are being implemented and the actions teachers and administrators must take to assure their success, evaluators can spend time in classrooms themselves or obtain the opinions and perceptions of others familiar with participating schools, or combine these two approaches.

Of course, spending time in schools and obtaining information from knowledgeable observes do not guarantee that crucial components will be clearly identified, but failure to engage in these aspects of data collection will multiply the likelihood that program assessments will omit key considerations which ultimately determine success or failure among initial participants and subsequently at sites engaged in replicating promising innovations.

THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Some Thoughts on How Testing and Evaluation Can Improve Educational Opportunities for Underachieving Minorities

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A twenty minute presentation is not very long, yet the opportunity to address such a diverse and august group of educators prompts me to focus my time on some thoughts which I hope will make you somewhat uncomfortable, in some cases for their speculativeness and in other instances for their departure from the current zeitgeist. I will address both testing and evaluation, or rather, some new departures in both fields which I believe are definable in the light of what is needed, or what has not yet been accomplished.

Evaluation

I am gratified that the number of journals on evaluation has increased but concerned that the number of journal articles dealing with urban, minority, and compensatory education has not. A cynic, I suppose, could begin by asking, "Given that much of the financial impetus for the development of program evaluation as a field came from compensatory education and other government programs (Daniels & O'Neil, 1979), what has evaluation done to improve the lot of the underserved, the ill-served, non-dominant groups in American society?" One of CRESST's guiding premises is the belief that testing and evaluation are important tools for promoting educational equity. Perhaps this conference is a partial repayment.

But to move ahead, I believe it is necessary for us to distinguish between a moderately routinized, operational program evaluation and one which seeks to influence policy at levels which could affect a significant sector of educational practice, not just a parochial interest.

We need also to recognize that certain programs are likely to generate confusion and ill will when they deal with an already politically sensitive area (e.g., bilingual education), require extensive systemic change (e.g., Experimental Schools Program) (Lenning, 1977), or combine one or both of these elements with personal pride or finances (as in the case of Career Ladders). It is wise to note that for some proponents and opponents of controversial programs such as these, no amount of data or evidence will dissuade them. What we should attempt is to gain a balanced picture when analyzing large-scale, controversial programs. One could, for example, let out three small contracts instead of one large one. One proponent group and one contrary group would be in charge of analyzing the data which yet a third, ostensibly more neutral, group would collect to satisfy the analysts' designs. Comparing the results (reported in a uniform, juxtaposed format) might help us all to evaluate how well evaluation can handle controversy (see Duckett et al., 1982) and see just how Suchman's old (1967) pitfalls of evaluation ("eyewash," "whitewash," "submarine,", etc.) apply today.

It is a testimony to our lack of imagination that comp-ed programs look so compensatory. (Like Levin, I feel that comp-ed should be an enriching, alternative mode of delivery.) And it is a similar problem for us to continue to look at national norms and "regular progress" as the touchstones for many minority programs. We need to think of how educationally disadvantaged minority children would do if they were placed in the regular program, which after all does not want them (Bernal, 1984). (Why else were special programs created?) I am not sure how best to estimate these effects, but I am certain that this would be a more revealing comparison, both pedagogically and politically.

Since minority students are culturally (i.e., behaviorally) different, it is crucial that policy-and-program-evaluations deal with naturalistic settings (Wardrop, 1971), particularly the way the schools (representing the majority culture, values, and expectations) interact through their rules and representatives with the minority cultures, children, parents, and neighborhoods. I recall an old ethnographic study by Spradley (1971), never picked up in the education literature, which found that minority school children, rather that being "culturally deprived" were often culturally overwhelmed, and concluded that to succeed in school minority students needed to possess a capacity not required of others, namely to become bicultural. This study illustrates how perceptions and protocol are critical intervening variables. Real events, not just official events, in terms of human transactions, must be documented (Charters & Jones, 1973).

In a similar vein, we need to stop fragmenting educational objectives without attempting a synthesis which transcends individual objectives (see Page & Stake, 1979). Many programs present an evaluator with goals and objectives which later experience proves to be excessive, undesirable, or positively misleading -- B.S., in short. I believe that controversial, complex programs are not only not evaluatable in their first year, but also that the task of the evaluator of these programs is to complete the evaluation design after the project is underway, and that the first year or two of the evaluation should be as fluid and formatively dynamic as the project itself (see Weiss, 1973).

Nor need we be naive to think that the goals and objectives provided us are the only ones we should measure. I suppose I am arguing against the disinterested evaluator role whenever policy issues are being investigated. The evaluator in a collaborative role, however, needs to have the courage to supply essential goals and to examine the data to see if they have been fulfilled. Among these are the long-term monitoring of achievement, placement, and retention of minority students to see if they have similar options for being tracked within the curriculum as White students do, over the long run. (See Oakes, 1987, for "indicators of equity.")

While systems exist for objectively discovering which goals are real and for prioritizing the maze of objectives which complex programs present us (e.g. Borich, ca. 1984), what is needed, additionally, is a good model for detecting how objectives interact with one another, particularly how implementation of certain program features -- how the attainment of certain objectives -- might impede or facilitate the realization of other objectives. For example, the early reclassification and exit of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students from bilingual programs may impede their long term success in school and necessitate further special services, such as Chapter I programs. (Such "exits" from transitional bilingual education to another compensatory program instead of to regular education are a sham, in my opinion.) The possibility that objectives interact with each other means that a project's effects and impacts may be greater or less than the sum total of its individual objectives.

Testing

My first and most basic recommendation for psychometricians is to move directly to de-bias tests of intelligence, aptitude, and achievement, even if you do not believe them to be biased! This effort would in any case be a more creative and engaging enterprise than defending current practices. New goal: to measure adequately as well as validly without compromising other features of a test like reliability and usability.

I suppose that I see recent developments in the bias issue as portending even greater conflict, more serious confrontations. On the one hand, such programs as "teacher-competency" and student-achievement (basic skills) testing, are expanding and generating new hundreds of thousands of dollars to certain test-making and test-scoring enterprises yearly. On the other side of the political equation, groups that oppose testing in one or more of its forms are joining forces with consumer advocates and even with avowedly political action organizations. The underlying social issue, however, has to do with the real costs of these conflicts in terms of human potential lost, not to mention the professional energies which will be dissipated in formal judicial hearings and legislative manipulations.

> Mercer (1979) has stated that psychologists generally are among the established American elites (in the sociological sense) and that they understandably perpetuate a psychometric belief system which provides a "scientific rationale for the continued ascendancy of politically dominant racial and cultural groups" (p. 112). She further points out that there are a few psychologists who hold a counterideology, one which rejects "a definition of 'intelligence' which is based entirely on an individual's knowledge of the Anglo core-culture and would include the language, skills, and knowledge needed to operate successfully in non-Anglo cultural settings" (Mercer, 1979, p. 112). I wish to add that while many apologists for extant testing practices claim that measured mean differences between Whites and minorities are functions of differential educational opportunities, the testing industry has never really studied this particular question, a crucial hypothesis, really, which can only be answered by investigating several alternative possibilities at the same time.

The new tests which I envision might include a representative sampling of thinking, learning, and expressive styles and bicultural survival competencies (so that almost everyone does poorly on a few sections of the test, but not on the same ones). These tests should not be like the old "culture free" tests, with all their attendant problems, including lack of validity, but should address themselves to a wide variety of abilities (see Flaugher, 1971) that new research would show are important to success in life generally and in school as well. We must keep in mind that current predictor variables are not all that powerful (which occasionally gets tests into trouble even with White populations); hence a search for stronger and "alternative" cognitive skills and "nonintellective" (Lenning et al., 1974) factors is in order -- predictors we do not yet tap. We could, for example, develop tests based on studies of extreme groups who do not perform as our contingency tables would predict, then compare these groups to each other and to groups of more consonant individuals. The application of computer-assisted testing may also be in order here, for the sake of both efficiency and humaneness, to reduce overall testing time and stress on such diverse sets of items.

While tests allow us to do some very sophisticated analyses of individuals and groups, we have to adopt a more user-and consumer-friendly approach:

1. We need tests of achievement/placement which yield not only reliable but also accurate scores without having first to subject minority kids to extensive test-taking skills training. In short, we need tests which are not so artificially constructed that they mask the true abilities and achievements of minority students. (See Bernal, 1986.)

2. We need tests of ability/diagnosis which yield educationally and clinically meaningful profiles.

3. We need tests which prognostiate success or failure in the long run, not just the short run, so that we might better counsel both minority and majority students and prepare more appropriate interventions for those who may encounter only short-run difficulties.

Finally and very importantly, we need to stop testing for the prestige of it or to gain political approbation from the public. Teacher competency testing, where a test score effectively becomes either the sole criterion or part of a multiple cutoff system of screening for admission to teacher education or for certification, is an issue in point. The Pre-professional Skills Test (PPST) and the California Basic Educational Skills Test (CBEST) admittedly have little to do with actual professional outcomes such as classroom effectiveness. Glass (1986), who concludes that very few people ultimately fail these tests (given that some must retake the examinations), misses an important point: Minorities fail these tests in disproportionately high rates and are not particularly successful on subsequent attempts, as the PPST data from Arizona indicate (Cropper & Nomura, 1987). When we use tests to satisfy political agendas, tests which have little or no relationship to professional competencies, but which severely and disproportionately impact minorites, one must suspect that hidden political agendas may include the limitation of opportunities for minorities to enter the teaching profession while reassuring the public that educational reform -- and insistence on standards -- is taking place.

Conclusion

Compensatory education has enjoyed some successes but perhaps not as many as it might have achieved had it embarked on a different course by offering a program more appropriately tailored to the needs of non-dominant ethnic schoolchildren. In too many cases, compensatory education has merely presented a slower, less interesting, less challenging version of regular education to these youngsters (see Bernal, 1984). My own impression is that the results of these programs are ideologically disappointing although, realistically speaking, quite good, given how little innovation was invested in their design.

Evaluation can make a real difference in the configuration and delivery of programs for underachieving minorities if it begins to document what is really going on, how these events are perceived by different actors, and how these perceptions compare. My experience convinces me that to a very great extent parents, children, administrators, and teachers do not perceive the same educational events in the same way, and that they might accomplish a lot more if they knew what each of the others was thinking. I suppose that I am arguing for more observation, more ethnographic monitoring, because I have encountered so many dissonant perceptions in my own studies. But because these require significant outlays of money, they may have to be reserved for major evaluative undertakings. What must be done in all cases, however, is to link these goings-on (programmatic features, events, variations) to student achievement, attendance, retention, and placement/tracking over long periods of time, since these criteria are closer to what educational equity is all about.

For the testing profession to make a contribution to minority education may require a major reorientation of both individuals and organizations, from defensive (albeit "scientific") posturing to creative problem-seeking and problem-solving. It would be far more socially beneficial and professionally challenging to discover the psychological sources of differential ethnic performance on both predictive and criterial measures than to continue to invest resources in the defense of traditional tests.

If such research proves fruitful, if it were possible to sift the "real" differences from the culturally/arbitrarily imposed biases/problems in the instruments, then new tests could be devised which would alter not the psychometrician's social role as gatekeeper (elite) but the demographic characteristics of the persons who would be most significantly affected by testing.

By ensuring that both our instruments and the criteria by which we judge their validity are unbiased, we could simultaneously assure ourselves, the public, and the school professionals whose programs we evaluate that our tests are not merely consequential but also germane. At a time when we spend such great efforts justifying current practice in test design and validation (Bernal, 1986) to no one's deep satisfaction (except for true believers), is this not the time to try?

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THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Results from Using The WICAT Learning Solution for Underachieving Minority Students

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Introduction

This paper describes some very promising results from using the WICAT Learning Solution (LS) to produce significant learning gains for minority students. The Learning Solution involves the integrated use of the following:

- a computerized school learning center,
- comprehensive courseware curricula,
- sophisticated learner management,
- advanced assessment and testing programs,
- hardware solutions designed for schools,
- on-going training and support, and
- complete maintenance service.

The Learning Solution is currently implemented in approximately 350 locations nationwide. Representative school districts include: Garland District, TX; Pharr-San Juan-Alamo District, TX; Stillwater, OK; New York City, NY; Chicago, IL; Prince Georges County, MD; Broward County, FL; Indian River County, FL; Asuza District, CA; Hueneme District, CA; Oxnard District, CA; and Santa Barbara, CA. Each of the 350 school implementation sites has a minimum of 32 student learning stations (350 sites x 32 learning stations = 11,200 learning stations) which are used throughout the school day to provide comprehensive, computerized curriculum, testing, and instructional management capabilities. Several districts (Garland, TX; Pharr-San Juan-Alamo, TX, Indian River County, FL; Hueneme District, CA and Asuza District, CA) have implemented the Learning Solution in each school in the district.

Learning Solution Description

The Learning Solution consists of the integration of a computerized school learning center, comprehensive courseware curricula, sophisticated learner management, advanced assessment and testing programs, hardware solutions designed for schools, ongoing training and support, and completes maintenance services. The following sections describe the major features and capabilities of each of these integrated aspects of the Learning Solution.

The School Learning Center. The Learning Solution is implemented in a school using a Learning Center configuration. The Learning Center includes minicomputer with a large hard disk storage capability which can support up to 32 student learning stations (standard school learning center) or up to 64 student learning stations (large school learning center). Alternative Learning Center configurations can provide individualized computerized instruction and assessment for up to 350 students daily (standard school learning center) or up to 700 students daily (large school learning center).

The Learning Center provides lessons which are tailored to the individual learner. Each lesson is automatically tailored to meet the needs of individual students. Interactive exercises encourage students to develop higher order thinking skills. Drill and practice lessons are also included. Teachers receive up-to-the minute student management reports which permit them to monitor student performance and progress and identify areas where students require individualized attention.

The Learning Center allows each student to work on different courseware lessons all at the same time in the same lab. The system is also easy for teachers and students to learn and operate. Each student can take computerized achievement tests in the Learning Center and receive appropriate prescriptions to WICAT's comprehensive curriculum. Student responses to the courseware and testing materials are monitored and teachers receive reports on individual performance as students proceed through the materials at their own pace.

The Learning Center courseware uses an extensive graphics library to stimulate student interest and motivate students toward higher performance. Students see learning situations that are acted out in vivid animation. All system configurations include high-quality, life-like audio capabilities which are educationally invaluable for beginning reading instruction, activity directions, language instruction, and feedback or reinforcement.

Courseware Features

The Learning Solution provides comprehensive K-12 grade courseware curricula for students in reading, mathematics, language arts, and speciality subjects. Currently, WICAT provides 15 year-long courseware curricula packages. These include:

Mathematics: K-6 Mathematics, Middle School Math, Algebra I, Algebra II, and Geometry;
Reading: Primary Reading, Reading Comprehension;
Language Arts: Language Arts, Secondary Language Arts, and Writing;
Speciality Subjects: Computer Literacy, English as a Second Language, French, Chemistry, and

High School Basis Skills: Reading, Math, and English. This represents a total of approximately 2500 hours of computerized instruction. The comprehensive courseware has been developed to correlate to major state assessment objectives as well as to focus on teaching higher order thinking skills as well as basic skills. Yearly enhancements are made, as needed, for each courseware package. Brief examples are provided below of some of the typical courseware features.

The WICAT Primary Reading Curriculum complements and enhances classroom instruction in beginning reading skills for students in kindergarten through grade 3. Through the use of voice-quality audio and powerful graphics, the curriculum teaches the following sample primary reading skills: letter identification and discrimination, initial consonant sounds, sight word identification, sound patterns, picture sentences, paragraph comprehension, word identification through context, and identifying word meanings in context. The curriculum is easy for students to use since most of the exercises require the use of only five basic keys. Several forms of Prompts and Helps are available to students. The Primary Reading curriculum consists of a total of 1010 interactive activities organized into 285 lessons.

The WICAT Reading Comprehension curriculum is appropriate for students grades 4-8 and includes 565 separate lessons, presented as newspapers articles or stories. The newspaper editions available to the student include a mix of stories on the student's reading grade level, one year above reading level, and one year below reading level. From the newspaper edition list presented, the student selects a newspaper edition to work on and one of five newsstory articles available in the edition. The student must respond correctly to 80 percent of the questions on three stories within one reading level before advancing to the next level. Various Prompts and Helps are available to students during the reading exercises. This unique curriculum teaches critical thinking skills and shows students how to apply these skills in a logical process to understand printed material.

The curriculum teaches students to draw inferences and conclusions, and to make predictions from text; to provide justification for conclusions, inference predictions; to judge the validity of an argument based on stated criteria and evidence; determine the relations of parts of a passage to its total meaning; to interprete data presented in graph, chart, or tabular form; and to identify appropriate summaries of text passages.

The WICAT Middle School Math Curriculum is designed as an effective supplement to the standard mathematics curriculum for grades 5 through 8. The curriculum uses a variety of methods to teach mathematics concepts, to reinforce skills and to stimulate student interest. The Middle School Math Curriculum consists of 130 lessons organized into the following five major strands:

Numbers (whole numbers, fractions, mixed numbers, decimals, and integers),
Operations (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, powers, square roots, and absolute value),
Geometry (identification, classification, and comparison of geometric figures
Algebra (algebraic variables and expressions, linear equations, inequalities, and graphs and functions), and
Probability and Statistics (descriptive statistics, probability, permutations and combinations). The curriculum consists of 130 lessons organized into four grade levels 5 through 8.

In the Middle School Math Curriculum, concept development activities provide graphic models to promote mental images of concepts and insight into the relationships between concepts and symbolic math skills. Practice activities with consistent feedback reinforce the math skills. Helps provide additional support for students who need it without intruding on students who do not. Drill activities encourage immediate recall of facts. Problem solving activities promote productive problem solving habits and challenge students to thoughtfully apply previously learned math concepts in real-life contexts. Rich, animated graphics demonstrate math concepts and principles along with prompts and questions that guide the student through an interactive, discovery approach to learning mathematics.

Learner Management Features

As each student progresses through the curriculum, teachers can request several standard management reports which include information on individual student and class progress. These management reports indicate the lesson difficulty for each student and class, time on task for the student and class, the number of trials each student required for mastering the activity, the number of activities attempted, and number mastered for each student and class, and the student's relative class standing. The learner management system provides teachers with considerable flexibility in managing individual and class group courseware placement, assigning and sequencing activities for students and class groups, and in determining the frequency and the types of management reports desired. Management reports can be generated for either individual students or class groups for an individual courseware activity, multiple activities, or the remaining activities in each student assignment list. The learner management capabilities also allow districts to correlate their own district objectives with WICAT courseware objectives. Teachers can also restructure the courseware curriculum for students and classes to better parallel the classroom instructional sequence.

Advanced Assessment and Testing Features

The Learning Solution includes the integration of advanced, computerized assessment and testing capabilities for schools. WICAT has developed computerized predictive assessment tests based on a national list of assessment objectives and specific state predictive assessment tests for the states of Texas and Florida. Additional state predictive assessment tests will be developed in the future for other states. These predictive assessment tests can be administered at the school's choice any time during the school year. The test results indicate which state assessment objectives each student or group of students has mastered and which objectives are not yet mastered. For objectives which are not mastered, the computerized assessment system also provides prescriptions to appropriate textbook pages and to courseware lessons. These prescriptions are used by the teacher to more effectively help the student or group of students master the state mandated objectives. When students start using a courseware package the computerized testing capabilities can help determine their skills in the subject and provide appropriate placement in the courseware lessons.

In the use of these computerized testing programs, WICAT has found the following advantages of computerized testing over standard paper and pencil testing:

- standardized administration conditions
- ease of administration and management
- individualized test administration
- immediate scoring and reporting
- non-biased scoring
- enhanced presentation capabilities (text, graphics, and audio)
- enhanced response capabilities (multiple choice, free response, performance)
- increased testing efficiency, and
- improved test security

WICAT has also been a pioneer in the development of computerized adaptive or tailored tests of school achievement and ability. With a computerized adaptive test the student receives an initial item of average difficulty. If the student answers the item correctly, a more difficult item is presented. If the students answers the item incorrectly, a less difficult item is presented. The testing process continues to adapt to the individual responses of the student. After each item a new estimate of the student's ability or proficiency in the subject area is estimated. The testing process continues until a specified level of precision or standard error is reached and the testing is terminated. Research results have shown that computerized adaptive testing can significantly reduce the amount of testing time and number of items required in a test by 50 to 75% with an equal or greater level of precision of measurement. In their work with computerized adaptive tests, WICAT has found the following advantages of computerized adaptive testing over standard paper and pencil testing:

- Provides more precise measurement with fewer test items than conventional tests
- reduces testing time by 50% to 70%
- tests are adapted or tailored to each individual student's responses
- uses current procedures and applications of item response theory
- provides equally precise measurement at all ability levels
- carefully selects test items to match student ability levels
- reduces frustration for low ability students and reduces boredom for high ability student.

The Learning Solution also provides the schools with the capability to create their own computer-administered or computerized adaptive tests of school achievement and aptitude. Districts use comprehensive banks of objectives and items to select the specific objectives required for testing, to select the test items (text, graphics, and audio), to locally generate the computerized tests, to administer the tests and to generate individual and group reports on the customized, computerized tests. Districts can also contract for the preparation of customized objective and item banking services which includes computerized banks of the district's own objectives and test items.

Training and Support Features

The Learning Solution provides on going training and support for each of the Learning Center installation sites. An Account Manager and a Technical Education Specialist work directly with each installation site to meet the specific site needs for system information, proposals, purchasing, installation, implementation, training and support. Under the direction of the Account Manager, the Technical Education Specialist provides school administrator training, learning center manager training and teacher training during a three to five day period at the beginning of system installation. The training includes information on the Learning Center capabilities and features, scheduling and implementation issues student behavior management, curriculum overviews, recommendations for implementing curricula, hands-on experience with the curricula being implemented, interpreting and using the management system reports for curriculum and testing, and recommendations for integrating learning center activities with classroom activities. Follow-up training and continued classroom integration training is provided for each learning center site during a two-three day period a few months following system installation. The Account Manager and the Technical Education Specialist also provide on-going training and support as requested by the learning center site.

Learning System Maintenance Features

The Learning Solution includes comprehensive hardware, system software, courseware, and testware maintenance. WICAT provides a nationwide network of customer service maintenance technicians in addition to a 24 hour toll-free, hotline support for hardware, software, courseware, and testware maintenance. The customer service maintenance technicians provide preventive as well as on-going system maintenance for each learning center installation site. WICAT provides comprehensive, full-service maintenance agreements for all Learning Center sites. Learning Center managers are requested to call the toll-free, hotline number if any problem is encountered in the system hardware, system software, courseware, or testware. When a maintenance call is received it is immediately dispatched to the appropriate customer service maintenance technician for resolution. WICAT's central maintenance dispatch service can provide current information on the status of any site maintenance request for hardware, software, courseware, or testware. WICAT also maintains a current staff for problem resolution and enhancement for any of the courseware or testware products. In addition, the Technical Education Specialists work directly with the learning center managers to provide training and support for new system software, courseware, and testware products.

Hardware Solutions Designed for Schools

The Learning Solution provides hardware options and solutions which are designed for schools. The Learning Center systems can meet the needs of small to moderate sized schools with the standard learning center configuration with 32 learning stations for a school with up to 350 students. The large school learning center configuration includes up to 64 learning stations for a school with up to 700 students. The smallest of the learning center configuration includes either 8 or 16 terminals and can meet the needs for schools or special education programs with up to 175 students. The modular configurations of the learning center system configurations provide for continued expansion of the learning system as the school needs change. The Learning Center provides schools with high fidelity audio, sophisticated graphics, and animation capabilities. Schools can also link popular microcomputers (Apples and IBM PC's and compatibles) as alternative learning center stations. Current capabilities also allow for centralized management of learning stations which are located in multiple classroom locations.

EVALUATING THE WICAT LEARNING SOLUTION FOR MINORITY STUDENTS

The Learning Solution has been installed in several minority school districts for a period of 1-4 years. Several of these districts have conducted district evaluations of the outcomes from the Learning Solution. Most of the available evaluations have been conducted using a pretest-posttest evaluation design. WICAT is currently developing a comprehensive evaluation plan which will employ experimental and control groups within six districts to evaluate the outcomes from implementing the Learning Solution (Olsen, 1987).

The following section presents results from district-conducted evaluations of the Learning Solution for minority students. Additional information will be available over the next several years as WICAT continues their comprehensive evaluation studies.

ACHIEVEMENT RESULTS FROM USING THE WICAT LEARNING SOLUTION

Pharr-San Juan-Alamo District, TX

The Pharr-San Juan-Alamo, TX school district has implemented the Learning Solution district-wide at seventeen school sites during the 1986-1987 school year. The Pharr-San Juan-Alamo Independent School District is located in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas. The student population is about 90% Hispanic. Approximately 40% of the school population had Limited English Proficiency at the beginning of the evaluation period. Each of the seventeen sites installed a Learning Center with 32 learning stations along with the courseware for Primary Reading and Reading Comprehension. Evaluations were conducted with between 1300 to 1400 students at each grade level 3 and 5.

The WICAT computerized predictive state assessment test was administered in October 1986 to all district third and fifth grade students. Individual and group reports showing mastery or non-mastery of state assessment objectives were provided to teachers. Teachers also received prescriptions to courseware lessons and textbook pages for non-mastered objectives. Teachers implemented the appropriate classroom and Learning Center prescriptions. The WICAT computerized predictive state assessment test was readministered in January, 1987. Teachers again implemented the appropriate remedial prescriptions. The Texas state assessment test was administered in February, 1987.

An evaluation of the Learning Solution was conducted using the Texas Educational Assessment of Minimum Skills, the Texas state assessment test, administered in February, 1986 and February, 1987. The February 1986 results are prior to implementing the Learning Solution; the February 1987 results are after implementing the Learning Solution. Table 1 presents the learning outcome results comparing the percent of students passing the state assessment test at the district and state levels. The districtwide achievement gains (18% to 40% gains) are several times greater than the comparable state achievement gains (0% to 8% gains). In 1986 the district results were either at or significantly below the state average; in 1987 the district results were significantly greater than the state averages. Table 2 presents results for the district and state for the Limited

English Proficiency students. The district Limited English Proficiency achievement gains (23% to 47%) are significantly greater than the comparable state achievement gains (2% to 16%). These results show that the Learning Solution was very effective for districtwide minority students and for Limited English Proficiency minority students.

TABLE 1
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME RESULTS
PERFORMANCE ON THE TEXAS STATE ASSESSMENT TEST
PHARR-SAN JUAN-ALAMO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT
SPRING 1986 - SPRING 1987

SUBJECT	GRADE	DISTRICT RESULTS	STATE RESULTS
READING	3	55% passing (1986)	74% passing (1986)
		75% passing (1987)	79% passing (1987)
		20% Gain	5% Gain
	5	57% passing (1986)	83% passing (1986)
		84% passing (1987)	83% passing (1987)
		27% Gain	0% Gain
MATH	3	72% passing (1986)	80% passing (1986)
		90% passing (1987)	86% passing (1987)
		18% Gain	6% Gain
	5	62% passing (1986)	80% passing (1986)
		89% passing (1987)	86% passing (1987)
		27% Gain	6% Gain
WRITING	3	49% passing (1986)	50% passing (1986)
		71% passing (1987)	63% passing (1987)
		22% Gain	13% Gain
	5	41% passing (1986)	64% passing (1986)
		83% passing (1987)	68% passing (1987)
		42% Gain	4% Gain

TABLE 2
LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENCY STUDENTS
PERFORMANCE ON THE TEXAS STATE ASSESSMENT TEST
PHARR-SAN JUAN-ALAMO INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT
SPRING 1986 - SPRING 1987

SUBJECT	GRADE	DISTRICT RESULTS	STATE RESULTS
READING			
	3	29% passing (1986)	30% passing (1986)
		56% passing (1987)	42% passing (1987)
		27% Gain	12% Gain
	5	27% passing (1986)	40% passing (1986)
		64% passing (1987)	46% passing (1987)
		37% Gain	6% Gain
MATH	3	59% passing (1986)	55% passing (1986)
		83% passing (1987)	71% passing (1987)
		34% Gain	14% Gain
	5	37% passing (1986)	51% passing (1986)
		76% passing (1987)	65% passing (1987)
		39% Gain	14% Gain
WRITING	3	27% passing (1986)	26% passing (1986)
		50% passing (1987)	40% passing (1987)
		23% Gain	14% Gain
	5	17% passing (1986)	29% passing (1986)
		64% passing (1987)	31% passing (1987)
		47% Gain	2% Gain

San Jacinto Elementary School, Goose Creek Independent School District, TX

The Learning Solution was installed at the San Jacinto Elementary School, Goose Creek Independent School District, TX. The San Jacinto Elementary School is a Chapter I school. The school population is 89% minority, predominantly Hispanic. A Learning Center with 32 learning stations was installed along with the courseware for Primary Reading. The Learning Center was used by 101 Grade 3 students for 30 minute sessions, three to four times a week. The WICAT predictive state assessment test was administered as described above for Pharr-San Juan-Alamo district. The Texas Educational Assessment of Minimum Skills was administered to all students grades 3 during February 1986 and February 1987. The February 1986 results are prior to implementing the Learning Solution. Table 3 presents the learning outcome results. These results show significantly greater achievement growth for the school (13 to 28% gains) than the comparable state results (5 to 13%).

TABLE 3
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME RESULTS
PERFORMANCE ON THE TEXAS STATE ASSESSMENT TEST
SAN JACINTO ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, TX
SPRING 1986 - SPRING 1987

SUBJECT	GRADE	SCHOOL RESULTS	STATE RESULTS
READING	3	61% passing (1986)	74% passing (1986)
		89% passing (1987)	79% passing (1987)
		28% Gain	5%
MATH	3	83% passing (1986)	80% passing (1986)
		96% passing (1987)	86% passing (1987)
		13% Gain	6% Gain
WRITING	3	51% passing (1986)	50% passing (1986)
		76% passing (1987)	63% passing (1987)
		25% Gain	13% Gain

Blackstock Junior High, Oxnard, CA

The Learning Solution was installed in the Blackstock Junior High School during the 1984-1985 school year. Blackstock School is a 6-8 grade junior high school with a total enrollment of 810 students. Sixty percent are minority students with the largest group being 44% Hispanic. The Learning Center with 30 learning stations was installed along with the courseware for Reading Comprehension and Mathematics. Students used the Learning Center for 15 minute periods 5 times a week for reading, and 5 times a week for mathematics. An evaluation was conducted for 112 6th grade students using the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills administered during the spring of 1983, 1984 and 1985. School percentile scores and gains were compared for Spring 1983 and Spring 1985. The Spring 1983 scores were prior to implementing the Learning Solution. Table 4 presents the learning outcome results. These results show learning gains of 11 to 30% over the two year period.

TABLE 4
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME RESULTS
BLACKSTOCK SCHOOL, OXNARD, CA
COMPREHENSIVE TEST OF BASIC SKILLS
SPRING 1983 - SPRING 1985

SUBJECT	GRADE	NATIONAL PERCENTILE
READING	6	48 (1983) 61 (1985) 13 Percentile Gain
MATHEMATICS	6	47 (1983) 77 (1985) 30 Percentile Gain
LANGUAGE ARTS	6	49 (1983) 60 (1985) 11 Percentile Gain

Zenos Coleman Elementary School, Chicago, IL

The WICAT Learning Solution was installed at the Zenos Coleman School, Chicago, IL during the 1985-1986 school year. Coleman school is a K-8 grade school with an enrollment of 950 students. Nearly all of the students (98.5%) live in public housing projects. The entire student population is black. The school implemented a 32 station Learning Center including the K-8 Mathematic and K-3 Primary Reading courseware. A total of 233 students from grades 1-6 used the Learning Center for 90 minutes a week in reading and 60 minutes a week in mathematics. The Iowa Test of Basic Skills was administered to Grade 1 students in November, 1985 and April, 1986, and to Grade 2-6 students in April, 1985 and April, 1986. Table 5 presents the learning outcome results. These results show grade equivalent gains twice as large with the learning solution compared with prior achievement gains with standard classroom instruction.

TABLE 5
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME RESULTS
ZENOS COLMAN SCHOOL, CHICAGO, IL.

		Grade 1 N=71	Grade 2-6 N=162
MATHEMATICS	LS	7.7 months gain in five months	9.8 months gain in nine months
	CI	3.9 months gain prior year	4.4 months gain prior years
READING	LS	9.1 months gain in five months	9.5 months gain in nine months
	CI	6.9 months gain prior years	4.5 months gain prior years

KEY

LS = Learning Solution
CI = Classroom Instruction

McCorkle Elementary School, Chicago, IL.

The WICAT Learning Solution was installed in the McCorkle Elementary School, Chicago, IL. during the 1986-1987 school year. McCorkle Elementary School, located on Chicago's southside, is a preschool-8th grade elementary school with an average enrollment of 600 students. Approximately 90% of the students live in public housing projects. The student population is black. A WICAT Learning Center with 32 learning stations was installed along with the courseware for Primary Reading, Reading Comprehension, and Mathematics. The students used the Learning Center for five 35 minute periods, three times a week in reading, and two times a week in mathematics. The Iowa Test of Basic Skills was administered to 400 students in grades 4-8 during April, 1986 and April, 1987. Table 6 summarizes the learning outcome results. These results show grade equivalent gains which are significantly greater with the learning solution than with prior achievement gains with standard classroom instruction.

TABLE 6
EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME RESULTS
MCCORKLE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, CHICAGO, IL.

		Grade 4-8 N=400
MATHEMATICS	LS	8.1 months gain in five months
	CI	5.7 months gain prior years
READING	LS	10.6 months gain in five months
	CI	4.2 months gain prior years

KEY

LS = Learning Solution
CI = Classroom Instruction

DISCUSSION

This paper has presented a comprehensive description of the WICAT Learning Solution and promising achievement results for minority students. These achievement results were demonstrated on state assessment tests and standardized norm-referenced achievement tests. Similar significant learning gains were found across districts, regional locations and minority populations. Following are some possible explanations for these significant learning results.

First, the Learning Solution includes computerized, criterion-referenced tests to assessing and targeting specific individual learning needs. These computerized tests provide prescriptions and placement into the courseware as well as classroom textbooks to help students master the instructional objectives. These computerized tests can be administered as often as required to provide assessments of student progress on specific instructional objectives.

Second, the comprehensive courseware presented in the Learning Center is an effective educational supplement to the traditional classroom instruction. The courseware has sufficient scope and breadth to meet the needs of students at every grade K-12 in mathematics, reading, and language arts areas. These individual learning needs can be met for mainstream students, remedial students and gifted and talented students. The courseware also teaches higher order thinking and problem solving skills along with the basic skills instruction. The courseware provides truly individualized instruction with unlimited example and practice trials using a combination of text, graphics, high quality audio and animations. Minority students can benefit significantly from the quality courseware design, step by step presentation, interactive example and practice opportunities, and the graphics and audio instructional supplements.

Third, the Learning Solution provides teachers with a comprehensive instructional management system for individual student and class progress tracking. These management reports indicate student progress on test objectives and courseware instruction. Teachers can readily modify the student courseware assignment lists to better meet individual student needs. As teachers continue to integrate the Learning Center instruction with their classroom instruction the student's learning achievement will improve significantly. With previous individualized instructional systems the teachers were often overwhelmed with the amount of paperwork and management time required to provide individual assignments, lessons and tests for each student. With the computerized courseware the teacher can easily do the management work required for individualized instruction. Teachers also provide instructional support and individual help to students in the Learning Center.

Fourth, the minority students themselves report significant value from using the Learning Solution. The students report liking the individualized, one-on-one instruction which the courseware provides, the interactive practice and feedback exercises, and the high quality of the text, graphics and audio instruction. Students like to keep track of their own progress through the courseware lessons and testing activities. As shown above the Learning Solution also produces significantly student achievement and learning gains for minority students on state assessment tests and standardized achievement tests.

This paper has described and demonstrated the benefits from the Learning Solution for minority students. These results offer the promise of significant improvement of minority student achievement with implementation of the Learning Solution.

REFERENCES

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COLLABORATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

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COLLABORATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

Successful Collaborations

Eugene Cota-Robles
Office of the President
University of California

The preceding speakers have made a fundamental point: The minority community itself must take an important role in improving achievement among minority youngsters. That aside, we still have to work with the schools in order to improve the education of underachieving minorities. We think this is possible in a number of ways.

Improving education requires the strengthening of certain activities. First, we must improve and strengthen instructional strategies that are effective for all students. Second, we must improve and strengthen the curriculum, particularly in schools that have large minority enrollments. We must also strengthen positive contributions by parents and other family members. We must improve the organizational ability of schools and other educational institutions. We must strengthen assessment tools and practices and we must strengthen students' expectations of themselves. Finally, we must strengthen the cultural and social support systems that students require to succeed in school. Our goal is to have full participation by minority students in the educational process. Until we achieve that goal, special efforts will be required in each one of the contexts outlined above. What may be less clear, however, is that special efforts are also needed to achieve and enhance effects across these different contexts.

One way to talk about these efforts is to talk about forging collaborations. The need for this kind of collaboration is generated by cultural discontinuity. Students learn and develop as whole individuals, and the background of their work in the school is participation in a larger world. We have to find ways, then, to bridge this discontinuity.

Generally, reform efforts deal only with the part of the student that is in school, and therefore deals only with part of the student's world. For example, some reform efforts focus on the development of skills but ignore problems created for students by unclear, ambiguous, or unreasonable class assignments. Others focus on improving the curriculum without involving in those efforts the classroom teachers who will have to implement these new reforms. Still other efforts are designed to improve the skills of individual teachers without addressing problems of school organization that keep teachers from being more effective. So reform movements are valuable, but frequently, unless they work across the system, they are not particularly useful. Reform effort has been very helpful for individual teachers, but substantial long-lasting improvements in the education of minority students will require that we find ways to broaden the objectives of these programs and increase collaboration among them, as well as within.

Let me tell you about a few University of California case histories in bridging K-12 and higher education. When implemented, these programs had a sharp focus, but as they achieved some success, the focus of each expanded and they have had to develop associations and collaborations in a broader context. The first of these examples is a program we call MESA: mathematics, engineering, science and achievement.

This particular program was started in Berkeley in 1970 through the School of Engineering. Faculty members were interested in finding ways in which more black students could attend engineering school. The program moved slowly until it became clear to industrial engineers that there was a real need to help and participate in this program. They started to work with the University, and in doing so, established connections between companies and the School of Engineering at Berkeley and with the schools in Oakland. MESA limped along at first, but now is very, very successful. MESA recently graduated forty engineers from the University of California at Berkeley who are Black and Chicano youngsters, youngsters that probably would not have been able to go through the system without the help of MESA. In addition, from those forty that went through the minority engineering program, fourteen are going on to graduate school and preparing themselves for advanced training. Can you imagine the pressure these young minority engineers felt to take immediate employment? Working together permitted them to set higher goals and, perhaps, to work towards contributing their talents to faculties of the University of California. I feel that one of the most important things required to improve schools is that the faculties be diversified.

Other collaborative activities that are now being directed toward minority achievement are the California Writing Project and the California Mathematics Project. In these two programs, the University is working with teachers to upgrade their skills in writing and mathematics. Part of the focus of these programs is on teachers in minority schools, and the programs stress that the teachers who go back to those minority schools have a responsibility to help the other teachers. We are interested in improving the skills of teachers, but we also are interested in these teachers acknowledging that they have additional responsibilities, and one is to work intensively to upgrade the education that minority youngsters receive.

We are working on two other projects through the University that are types of collaborations. One is the linguistic minority project, which funds faculty to conduct research on the education of linguistic minority youngsters. One of our faculty that works in this area, Lillie Wong-Filmore, recently gave some staggering information to the University of California Regents. She reported that the grade point average of Asian students at the University of California at Berkeley is inversely proportional to the length of time they have spent in California schools. She also pointed out that quality of teaching is crucial to the education of minority youngsters. Black and Hispanic youngsters, particularly, walk away from schools where instruction is inadequate. Asian students, on the other hand, acknowledge and accept that inadequacy and work harder to obtain high GPAs. The cultural context is very important. These are the kinds of studies that University faculty are contributing to the efforts to upgrade minority education.

The final study that I want to mention is the Black Eligibility Study, which has been generated primarily through the interest of individuals in the University such as Winston Doby and Joe Watson. They have convinced President Gardner that we must make an extended examination of why Black students show a decline in eligibility for the University. This must not be just a long-range view, we must also develop some short-term intervention strategies.

There are three kinds of collaboration. One is collaboration among similar professionals. An example would be the California Mathematics Project, a collaboration of teachers working together, teacher to teacher. The Achievement Council is a principal to principal collaboration. The Black Eligibility Study is heavily faculty to faculty. These kinds of collaborations are very useful.

Collaborations among individuals who occupy very different positions within the educational enterprise are a second kind. For example, the work we have done in MESA with teachers, counselors, parents, and students has permitted us to develop collaborations that are very effective. A very specific example of this kind of cross-collaboration is the project PUENTE, a collaboration between the community colleges and the University PUENTE is an expansion of the Writing Project. It uses mentors from the Hispanic community to advise not only the students in California community colleges, but the counselors as well.

A third type of collaboration is among different institutions, and this is necessary to insure that change is structural and longstanding. An example is Project TEAMS, Teaching Excellence and Achievement in Minority Schools, a project put together this year. In this program, the Math Project, the Writing Project, the Achievement Council, and the UCLA effort in staff development are all tied together to make one entity with a focus on pushing excellence and achievement in minority schools.

It is important to remember that the students, their parents, and their friends can remain relatively untouched by our more ambitious efforts to bring collaboration. In fact, if we fail to provide increased opportunities for students to work more effectively with those immediately involved in their education -- their peers, teachers, parents, and other family members -- the best of our efforts, no matter how hard we try, will be ineffective.

One of the most important types of collaboration that we should encourage is collaboration in the classroom, collaboration between students. Classrooms must be redesigned so that minority students want to participate in school. They must have numerous opportunities to participate, and their participation and academic pursuits must be rewarded consistently. Collaboration in the classroom between students and teachers, and among the students themselves, is the key to this kind of participation, not only for minority students, but for the rest of the world as well.

Classroom collaboration is not something most of us here are involved with directly on a daily basis, but we can certainly keep it in mind as we think about opportunities and proposals for increasing collaboration among the institutions and projects with which we are directly involved.

COLLABORATIVE ARRANGEMENTS

Forging Collaborations

Winston Doby
Vice Chancellor, Student Affairs
UCLA

We have a great challenge ahead of us if we are going to take the lineup of recommendations we've heard today and make them work for the betterment of the schools. Now is the time to move beyond the sharing of knowledge and insights and to begin deliberations on strategies to apply these concepts to the betterment of schools that serve minority youngsters. To begin that process, I suggest that an important first step is the creation of networks or infrastructures among those of us who share a common goal. Making schools work for underachieving minorities will require the successful collaboration of those of us who want to see it happen.

One of my favorite words is synergy. Synergy: The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. In medical terms, drugs are said to have synergistic effects when they increase the effects of each other. In team sports, some coaches and players have the ability to make the team better than the simple sum of the individual talents represented on the team. I believe that successful collaborations depend on several factors, and I will point out two examples to try and identify some of these factors.

Locally, the Lakers, in my view, represent the most recent example in sports. The Lakers had a common vision, to be the best in the NBA. They had excellent leadership from both the owner and what I would term a synergistic coach, a coach capable of getting his players to accept their roles and thereby making the Lakers a stronger team. They had talented players who agreed to accept these roles and who believed in themselves, who believed in their coach and in the Lakers system. Of course, they had Magic Johnson. The supreme synergistic agent.

Another example of a successful collaboration is the organization that created this conference, the Center for Research on Evaluation Standards and Student Testing, CRESST. It is a creative national organization. It works because the stakeholders share a common belief in the importance of testing and the importance of evaluation in improving schools and informing public policy. The CRESST team of established researchers serves as the catalyst for bringing together educators, education practitioners, researchers, and policymakers, and they do it at all levels. Clearly, this conference is an excellent example of a successful collaboration.

I'm involved in yet another collaboration. This is a group whose goal is to increase the number of black students in Los Angeles County who are eligible to attend selected county colleges and universities. The stakeholders in this collaboration represent twenty-six communities organizations, seven school districts, over one hundred colleges and universities, and several major companies in the Los Angeles area. They are working in collaboration on behalf of over 2,000 ninth grade black youngsters. One organization, the 100 Black Men of Los Angeles, serves as the community catalyst to forge the collaboration necessary to make it all work.

Only a year old, the program has generated nearly one million dollars from community support. It involves over 1,000 community leaders and role models, and it has all of the ingredients of a successful collaboration: a common vision, a catalytic agent, stakeholders who are committed and involved, and, most importantly, a belief that in working together we can make a greater difference than working separately. It is this last factor on which I would like to encourage you to concentrate.

I believe that those of us who are here at this conference have the opportunity to begin a collaboration of our own on behalf of the youngsters served in minority schools. I believe that only by working together can we make such schools work for underachieving minority students. I believe that we are the synergistic agents who can make the schools make a difference. I hope that we take on that challenge. In my view, education is a team sport.

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Speakers and participants at MAKING SCHOOLS WORK FOR UNDERACHIEVING MINORITY STUDENTS eloquently articulated the national dilemma which continues to confront us. Each acknowledged that we have yet to realize the dream of making it possible for all students to gain sufficient education to become productive and contributing members of our society. The depth and severity of this dilemma, the consequences if it is not resolved, and some key dimensions of potential solutions were carefully explored by the keynote speakers, Samuel Betances, James Comer, and Henry Levin who opened the conference. Participants then explored with great enthusiasm and optimism promising programs and innovative practices that could brighten the future for currently at-risk students. In the final session of the conference participants were divided into small working groups under the leadership of Dr. Norma Cantu, Director of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund; Dr. Gary Peterson, Director of Research & Evaluation, Milwaukee Public Schools; Dr. Grace Pung Guthrie, Research Associate, Far West Regional Laboratory; Dr. Linda Davis, Deputy Superintendent, San Francisco Unified Schools and Dr. Gary Estes, Program Director, Northwest Regional Laboratory.

The working groups considered the conference proceedings in relation to four major questions, namely:

1. What are the most important keys to improving education for underachieving minority students? Are there common ideas, factors or processes that appear to characterize various promising practices?

2. What are the most significant impediments to implementing these key ideas?

3. What federal, state and/or local actions (other than only money) would most help?

4. How could R & D in educational testing and/or evaluation best contribute to solutions? Are there important testing and/or evaluation issues that need to be addressed? What kinds of

testing and/or evaluation information, if any, could help improve educational opportunities for minority students?

The major findings of the conference, based on a synthesis of, working group deliberations and conference presentations, are structured by these same questions.

These findings suggest an important and ambitious agenda for continued work to help resolve a critical national problem.

What Are Important Keys To Improving Education For Underachieving Minority Students?

Recommendations for improving education for minority students focused on five areas (1) instructional development, (2) the professional development and training of teachers, (3) school climate, (4) community and parental involvement in the education of minority children, and (5) educational research and evaluation.

1. Recommendations for Instructional Development:

   Effective instruction must be linked with a focused assessment of school outcomes and sound diagnosis of student needs and abilities. In essence, a dynamic model of assessment and instruction must be developed which allows for the following activities: improved diagnosis and prescription; varying instructional strategies and materials in response to individual and group needs; continually monitoring and improving the quality of school programs; and setting high expectations for all students and all schools. In addition, research and development is needed to enable better matching of teaching strategies with student learning styles.

2. Recommendations for Teacher Development:

   Particular attention must be paid to the training and professional development of teachers. Further research is necessary to increase our understanding of the key dimensions and indicators of excellent teaching; these in turn need to be incorporated into strong preservice and inservice training programs. Because teachers must also understand the culture of minority students to improve their education, teacher education and administration programs should develop cultural awareness, encourage the value of cultural diversity, and develop positive attitudes among their students.

There is also a need to recruit minority candidates into teacher training programs and to utilize practitioners in these programs who can serve as strong role models (e.g., black mentors who have recently taught in inner city schools). These actions will lead to the recruitment, training (and retraining) of a culturally-sensitive and culturally-enriched teaching and administrative workforce.

Finally, the empowerment of teachers is necessary to support a strong teaching profession and a profession to which the best are attracted. Empowerment will also promote efficacy and responsibility, encouraging teachers to explore a wider variety of techniques, collaborative teaching strategies, and other innovations to build students' basic and problem solving skills.

3. Recommendations for School Climate:

Elements of the school climate are essential to successful educational improvement. In particular, the conference reaffirmed characteristics associated with effective schools as identified in the literature. Leadership is a central element in promoting a productiive school climate, with the principal functioning as a strong and commited instructional leader. A school climate is crucial which encourages high expectations, quality relationships among and between teachers and students, order, articulated goals and equity.

4. Recommendations for Community/Parental Involvement:

The creation of broad based efforts which involve all members of the community (business, church, parents) in the education of children is highly recommended for improving the education of minority students. To prmote active involvement in and reinforcement of their students' learning, minority parents and significant others in the child's life must begin to feel a sense of possibility and hope for the future as well as a change in their perception that schools are "not for us or our children." Efforts must be directed to bring about and build an atmosphere of concern, high expectations, and positive perceptions.

5. Recommendations for Research and Evaluation:

The bridging of research, evaluation and practice is a critical element in bringing about change. Applied research and evaluation can assist school planning, focus outcomes, and help support effective policymaking at various levels. Concrete plans of action for individual schools and school systems need to be established, then systematically monitored and evaluated for both summative and formative purposes.

What are the Significant Impediments to Implementing Key Improvements for Minority Education?

Conference participants identified what they deemed the most significant impediments to implementing innovations that could improve education for minority students. The areas most troublesome included those related to (1) school management and bureaucratic constraints, (2) attitudes, and (3) problems in research and development.

1. Impediments Related to School Management and Bureaucratic Constraints:

Bureaucratic constraints and problems in how schools are managed appear to present serious obstacles to reform and innovation. Some of the problems cited include: government mandates without resources to implement them; restrictions in the use of special funds; inflexibility in schools organization and management (e.g., structure of school time); and a lack of support for risk taking and innovation in implementing new ideas to help minority achievement. Further, in some cases, school management is not held accountable for the use of funds targeted to particular groups, making it difficult to get resources where they are most needed.

Another aspect of the problem related to management is the scarcity of minority role models in leadership positions and the lack of serious commitment at all management levels. The latter means insufficient leadership for mobilization and change efforts within the schools. Exacerbating the problem is an increasingly diverse population which makes it difficult to set and mount a unified effort toward common objectives.

2. Impediments Based on Attitudes:

Public attitudes and racism are major impediments to recognition and resolution of the problems of minority achievement. Changes in attitudes/perceptions must occur before significant gains for minority education are possible, yet changing entrenched attitudes and dispelling fears and stereotypes is a recalcitrant problem. Among the most difficult is changing attitudes from "those children can't learn" to "all children can learn and should be encouraged to do so". The lack of will, the lack of real commitment to improve minority achievement continues to plague us. These negative attitudes have been communicated to students, creating learner apathy and lack of motivation, inspiration and hope. If attitudes do not change, students must be taught to reject rejection.

In the view of some, schooling functions to sort individuals into successess and failures, thereby assuring that there will always be low achievers. This role is clearly detrimental to minorities. The current federal attitude towards minorities also shortchanges the needs of these communities.

3. Impediments Related to Testing and Evaluation:

Inappropriate use of evaluation and testing methods was noted as a particular problem. Impediments in the area of testing include a heavy reliance on standardized test scores and narrow kinds of assessment data which have been used to confirm stereotypes and limit opportunities. Tests must be designed to fairly assess student capabilities and accomplishments and evaluations must be sensitive to a full complement of school goals. Testing and evaluation should serve as bridges rather than barriers to better programs.

What Federal, State, and Local Actions (other than more money) Would Help Improve Education for Minorities?

Conference participants envisioned (1) actions which could and should be undertaken at all legislative and administrative levels, and (2) a few recommendations that were particularly salient to the federal, state, or local level.

1. Recommendations for Action at All Levels:

Sustained commitment and focused policy direction are necessary at all levels to maximize efforts to educate ALL students. Serious commitment requires attention, direction, and allocation of scarce resources. Yet all too often regulations and mandates come from various levels - federal, state, or local - without adequate resources to implement them. In order to better address the problem, all levels should recognize the full complement of quality resources and supports which are needed to improve education for the underachieving. A next step would be to focus the best available resources (e.g., teachers, instructional materials, etc.) on those with the greatest needs. This is but one way in which commitment to the improvement of education for all can be sustained and supported without the expenditure of new funds.

Sustained commitment involves actions which facilitate the participation of minorities at all levels, especially in leadership roles. Such a task may be carried out in part by providing incentives to bring more minorities and women into management, higher education and research, and/or networking with and among minority groups regarding an appropriate research and action agenda. Another part of this task may require assigning sanctions to those that neglect affirmative action.

All levels must also be committed to improving the collection and sharing of information. Dissemination of information on promising practices to practitioners and policymakers can be the first step leading to the refinement and replication of successful programs to improve minority achievement. All levels should also consider better communication with the public, particularly using the media to educate the public about successes.

2. Recommendations for Action at the Federal-Level:

There must be sustained federal commitment to the improvement of minority achievement. Federal actions which would help bring about change include: promoting federal regulations which allow more flexibility and creativity in designing and implementing compensatory programs; and enforcing equity policies in federally supported programs. In the latter regard, it appears that enforcement has weakened in the recent years. Affirmative action must be pursued vigorously, promoting equal access in the private as well as public sector.

Also of prime importance, federal policies must explicitly support multicultural efforts and assure serious attention to the special needs of limited English proficient and bilingual students. The promulgation of fair and unbiased information about the impact of bilingual education was another immediate need.

Sustained financial commitment to existing programs that work was another obvious requirement.

3. Recommendations for Action at the State-Level:

State level actions should include innovations directed at teachers, instructional improvement, testing and incentives for change. For example, in the area of teacher preparation, the states must assure that teacher training incorporates a truly multicultural curriculum. States also should consider policies which encourage local program adaptation and community involvement. State agencies specifically need to avoid regulations or statutes that reduce the flexibility of local districts and schools to respond to local needs and contexts.

Other state level innovations which would help support change include: the development of a core curriculum to be taught to all in the schools; the development of more efficiency in testing; and the refocusing of testing directives to assure both the assessment of significant skills and attention to a more comprehensive range of quality indicators. In the latter area, state assessments should consider the strengths which can serve as building blocks to success rather than paying exclusive attention to weaknesses which identify schools as failures.

Flexible collaborations with local districts should encourage experimentation and new programming innovations to support learning, such as alternative learning and homework centers in neighborhood areas (e.g., malls, churches).

4. Recommendations for Action at the Local-Level:

Needed action at the local level involves strong collaboration between local school districts and their communities to secure a strong network of support for the education of minority youth. The establishment of strong partnerships between home, business, church, etc. and each school campus was widely advocated to strengthen school programs and reinforce the attainment of educational goals and expectations. The activities of individuals involved in reducing the dropout rate, of groups like the 100 Black Men and Young Black Scholars program in Los Angeles, and of programs sponsored by the National Urban League and National Council of La Raza are examples of initiatives whose success can be monitored and replicated in other communities. Volunteer task forces established by local districts and community representatives can assist in making schools work for underachieving minorities.

In addition to engendering community support, school administrations at the local level must be held accountable for the delivery of equitable educational services. Therefore, local districts must put into place valid and reliable evaluation and accountability systems, including a variety of quality indicators, to monitor and support school improvement efforts.

What are the Implications for Research and Development in Educational Testing and/or Evaluation: Issues that Could Help Educational Opportunities for Minorities?

Specific recommendations were made under the general topics of (1) testing, (2) evaluation, and (3) bringing research into the schools.

1. Recommendations for R&D in Testing:

In the area of test development, removing test bias and seeking alternatives to standardized testing and reporting remain concerns with considerable advocacy. Curriculum-based testing and criterion-referenced measures as well as alternatives to a multiple-choice format are highly recommended. A new testing technology is needed to better diagnose student needs and enable students to demonstrate their talents. Test developers need to involve more minority persons (researchers and practitioners) in the development of improved tests.

Responsibilities for appropriate test use fall on the shoulders of both the user and test developer. Test developers and users must debunk myths about particular standardized tests and actively discourage their inappropriate use for Limited English Proficient and other students. The diagnostic and instructionally relevant purposes of testing should be emphasized, with better integration of testing with instruction. For example, new arrivals to a district should be tested upon entry in order to assess their educational needs and posttested later on curriculum-based skills to assess the real impact of education in the new district.

Users must also improve the quality of their decision making by cross-validating any testing data they receive against alternative sources of information. Users must understand that test results are imperfect and an insufficient basis for decisionmaking.

Test reporting must also improve. In reporting data about schools, demographic data such as SES, language and ethnic characteristics, and community context should be reported alongside testing data. School performance should be reported in a way to hold schools accountable for the progress of every ethnic group, but such reports should simultaneously take into account both SES and ethnicity.

Training in appropriate test interpretation and use must improve. A particular area of identified need was training for testing personnel and school counselors to assure that test results are not misused to limit students' opportunities. Evaluation mechanisms may be needed to assess the attitudes of counselors and others who administer and interpret tests since their attitudes may affect test-takers' performance and subsequent life chances.

Parents also need more knowledge about the meaning of test results and their appropriate interpretation.

2. Recommendations for R&D in Evaluation:

Research and development must continue to develop sensitive evaluation designs and reporting practices that support the use of evaluative data to help minority students and their communities. In designing evaluations, researchers should develop workable SES measures; broaden the range of indicators used to assess quality and equity; and use approaches that promote fair and productive use of evaluation findings. In the latter area, a balanced combination of top-down, policy relevant measures and bottom-up, locally ideographic measures was recommended. Innovative program evaluation models must be designed and more creative ways to assess teachers must be developed; both need to be sensitive to unique local circumstances but capable of generating comparable results.

Evaluations should attempt to identify strengths which can serve as a foundation for improvement.

Research and development should take community politics and public interest into consideration through independent evaluations and publications of reports in concise, understandable language. Districts must give priority attention to disseminating results throughout their districts and to analyzing and addressing findings. Researchers must assist in the interpretation of findings with explicit advice on what can and cannot be generalized from the results. Researchers and practitioners must improve the use of data at the local, state, and federal levels.

3. Recommendations for Bringing Research into the Schools:

Strategies must be devised to bring research into the schools to be used more effectively by teaching and administrative personnel. Districts should establish a policy on disseminating and applying research results. Dissemination efforts must include teachers. In fact, there are many who advocate the development of the "reflective practitioner"--one who uses research to reform action and decisions. Users (and non-users) need to understand testing and evaluation and how it is appropriate or inappropriate to use in assessing outcomes, determining policies and designing instructional improvement strategies.

School based planning models and data-based decision making need to be more effectively utilized, an effort that will require better training of teachers and principals. These actions can make evaluation data an important tool in the improvement of educational opportunities for minorities.

A final recommendation from the groups advised wide dissemination of this conference report through the Educational Commission of the States, the Council of Chief State School Officers, National School Boards Association, The National Urban League, The National Council of La Raza, The Council of the Great City Schools, National Council of State Legislators, National Governors' Association, the Business Roundtable, minority organizations, and the U.S. Department of Education.

THE COURSE AHEAD

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The issue of minority educational achievement must be spotlighted and productive approaches need continued review, trial, and improvement. Our conference brought together interest in contributing to this area. Our participants had two things in common: their commitment and their own achievement. They also sounded a recurrent theme: that minority achievement problems grow from broader societal sources. Poverty, and its limiting effects on positive experience, goals, time, and know how, can only be partially assuaged by productive school environments. Continually reaffirmed, however, was the view that individual action, someone caring about students does make a difference. The challenge is to mobilize the deep concern within the community to a level where most children receive the encouragement they need.

Conferences are frequent professional events. A good conference is one that is well organized, stimulating, and engaging, and one where opportunities for informal contact are provided. By such measures, our conference was a good one. But a useful conference is one that had effects beyond the time and place of the meeting. How our conferences rates on that dimension is more difficult to asses at this early date. However, we have taken some concrete steps toward longer range impact.

In collaboration with the National Council of La Raza and the National Urban League. CRESST has developed a study group whose goal is to produce evaluation tools that can be adapted and used by community groups to asses the impact of their many programs directed toward improving minority educational options. We hope that the final product will be used and widely disseminated to community groups, churches, and school districts, to provide the impetus and alternatives for assuring that their programs are making a difference.

Within the CRESST family, the conference helped to reaffirm a rich agenda for research in testing and evaluation, an agenda that we will pursue seriously. We will contribute at a number of levels. At the policy level, we will help to assure that local, state, and federal policymakers pay attention to indicators of equity in their assessments of schoool quality and will help to formulate what those indicators should be. At the school and local program levels, we will help to devise better and more useful evaluation models to support local problem-solving and program improvement for minority students. At the classroom and student levels, we are developing alternatives to traditional testing and are preparing diagnostic testing techniques that better support student learning. At all levels, we will continue to serve as a consumer advocate on behalf of our students, keeping watch over the actual use of tests and their potential misuses. In partnership with the involved communities, we look for our efforts to make significant impact on the quality of education for minority students.

APPENDIX

CRESST

Center for Research on Evaluation, Standards, and Student Testing
UCLA Graduate School of Education

MAKING SCHOOLS WORK FOR UNDERACHIEVING MINORITIES: NEXT STEPS FOR RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE

in cooperation with

The Council of the Great City Schools

The National Urban League

The National Council of La Raza

Office of Educational Research and Improvement
U.S. Department of Education

UCLA FACULTY CENTER
June 25-26, 1987

MAKING SCHOOLS WORK FOR UNDERACHIEVING MINORITIES: NEXT STEPS FOR RESEARCH, POLICY AND PRACTICE

Opening Conference Session

June 25, 1987
9:00a.m. - 9:15a.m.
California Room

Welcome: Eva Baker, CRESST/UCLA

Introductions/Conference Organization: Josie Bain, CRESST/UCLA

OUR NATIONAL DILEMMA

9:15a.m. - 12:15p.m.

Moderator:	Samuel Husk The Council of the Great City Schools
Keynoters:	
9:30a.m. - 10:00a.m.	James Comer Yale University
10:00a.m. - 10:30a.m.	Henry Levin Stanford University
10:30a.m. - 10:45a.m.	Break
10:45a.m. - 11:15a.m.	Samuel Betances Northeastern Illinois University
Reactors:	
11:15a.m. - 11:45a.m.	Stuart Gothold Office of Los Angeles Co. Supt. of Schools
	Willie Herenton Memphis City Schools
11:45a.m. - 12:00p.m.	Question & Answer Period

12:10p.m. -1:30p.m. Lunch (Sequoia Dining Rooms)

PROMISING PRACTICES FOR:
Developing Effective Instructional Programs

1:30p.m. - 3:15p.m.
California Room

Moderator:			Ronald Gallimore UCLA
Presentors:			
1:30p.m.	-	2:00p.m.	Barbara Sizemore University of Pittsburgh
2:00p.m.	-	2:30p.m.	Kati Haycock Achievement Council
2:30p.m.	-	3:00p.m.	Fred Tempes California State Dept. of Education
3:15p.m.	-	3:30p.m.	Break

Reducing Dropouts

1:30p.m. - 3:15p.m.
Hacienda Room

Moderator:			James Catterall CRESST/UCLA
Presentors:			
1:30p.m.	-	2:00p.m.	Michael Timpane Teacher's College, Columbia University
2:00p.m.	-	2:20p.m.	Roger D. Mitchell National Urban League
2:20p.m.	-	2:40p.m.	Lori Orum National Council of La Raza
2:40p.m.	-	3:00p.m.	Gonzalo Garza Austin Public Schools
3:15p.m.	-	3:30p.m.	Break

Preparing Students for Success
Secondary and Higher Education Levels

3:30p.m. - 5:15p.m.
Sierra Room

Moderator:	Sandra Graham CRESST/UCLA
Presentors:	
3:30p.m. - 3:50p.m.	Lester W. Jones Xavier University
3:50p.m. - 4:10p.m.	Shirley Thornton California State Dept. of Education
4:10p.m. - 4:30p.m.	Harriet Doss Willis North Central Regional Educational Laboratory
4:30p.m. - 4:45p.m.	Ed Apodaca Office of the President, University of California
4:45p.m. - 5:00p.m.	Miriam Rumjahn Asian Education Commission

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Helping LEP Students Succeed

3:30p.m. - 5:15p.m.
Playa Room

Moderator:	Concepcion Valadez CLEAR/UCLA
Presentors:	
3:30p.m. - 3:45p.m.	Jose Galvan CAIP/UCLA
3:50p.m. - 4:10p.m.	Bonnie Rubio Los Angeles Unified School District
4:10p.m. - 4:30p.m.	Guillermo Lopez California State Department of Education
4:30p.m. - 5:00p.m.	Amado Padilla CLEAR/UCLA

Improving Teacher Effectiveness

3:30p.m. - 5:15p.m.
Hacienda Room

Moderator:			Twyla Stewart CAIP/UCLA
Presentors:			
3:30p.m.	-	3:50p.m.	Twyla Stewart CAIP/UCLA
3:50p.m.	-	4:20p.m.	Charles Moody University of Michigan
4:20p.m.	-	4:40p.m.	Wayne Johnson United Teachers - Los Angeles
4:40p.m.	-	5:00p.m.	Ana Maria Schuhmann Kean College
Adjourn			5:30p.m.

RECEPTION --- BARBECUE --- GREAT FUN
SUNSET RECREATION CENTER
Parking Lot 12

Reception is co-sponsored by
the Center for Academic Interinstitutional Programs (CAIP)
Dr. Juan Francisco Lara, Executive Director

SUPPORTING THE BRIDGE: THE ROLE OF TESTING AND EVALUATION

Toward a More Positive Role

June 26, 1987
8:45a.m. - 10:15a.m.
California Room

Moderator:			Richard Green Minneapolis Public Schools
Presentors:			
8:45a.m.	-	9:05a.m.	Eric Cooper College Board
9:05a.m.	-	9:25a.m.	Daniel Levine University of Missouri
9:25a.m.	-	9:45a.m.	Bertram Koslin Touchstone Applied Science Associates, Inc.
9:45a.m.	-	10:05a.m.	Ernesto Bernal Northern Arizona University
Reactor:			
10:05a.m.	-	10:20a.m.	Richard Green Minneapolis Public Schools
10:20a.m.	-	10:40a.m.	Break

Alternative Strategies for Diagnosing and Meeting Individual Student Learning Needs

10:40a.m. - 12:00noon
Hacienda Room

Moderator:			Elaine Lindheim CRESST/UCLA
Presentors:			
10:40a.m.	-	11:00a.m.	Richard Duran, UC Santa Barbara
11:00a.m.	-	11:20a.m.	James Olsen World Institute for Computer Assisted Teaching
11:20a.m.	-	11:40a.m.	Al-Toney Gilmore National Education Association

Making Assessment More Educational: Devising Alternative Strategies for Monitoring and Improving School Learning

10:40a.m. - 12:00noon
California Room

Moderator:	Leigh Burstein UCLA/CRESST
Presentors:	
10:40a.m. - 11:00a.m.	Ramsay Selden Council of Chief State School Officers
11:00a.m. - 11:20a.m.	Walter Hathaway Portland Schools
11:20a.m. - 11:40a.m.	Todd Endo Fairfax County Schools

12:10p.m. - 1:30p.m.	Lunch (Sequoia Dining Rooms)
Speaker:	John Jacob National Urban League

FORGING COLLABORATIONS

1:30p.m. - 2:00p.m.
California Room

Moderator:	Joan Herman CRESST/UCLA
Presentors:	
1:30p.m. - 1:40p.m.	Eugene Cota-Robles Office of the President, University of California
1:40p.m. - 1:50p.m.	Winston Doby UCLA
1:50p.m. - 2:00p.m.	Charge to Working Groups

Working Groups to Identify Research and Policy Implications and to Chart Next Steps

2:05p.m. - 3:15p.m.

Group 1	California Room	Norma Cantu Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund
Group 2	Hacienda Room	Gary Peterson Milwaukee Schools
Group 3	Playa Room	Grace Pung Guthrie Far West Regional Laboratory
Group 4	Sierra Room	Linda Davis San Francisco Unified Schools
Group 5	Sequoia Room	Gary Estes Northwest Regional Laboratory

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Concluding Session

California Room
3:30p.m. - 4:30p.m.

3:30p.m.	-	4:00p.m.	Working Group Reports
4:00p.m.	-	4:15p.m.	Conference Synthesis: Alonzo Crim Atlanta Public Schools
4:15p.m.	-	4:30p.m.	Eva Baker CRESST/UCLA

NOTES

This project is performed pursuant to a Grant from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement/Department of Education (OERI/ED). However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the OERI/ED and no official endorsement by the OERI/ED should be inferred.

Making Schools Work for Underachieving Minorities: Next Steps for Research, Policy and Practice

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